

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.



GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02140 1507

Gc 977.2 In5 v.15 No.1-4

Indiana Historical Society.
Publications



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
Allen County Public Library Genealogy Center

PUBLIC LIBRARY
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND.

INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

Vol. 15

8

blk + gold

VOLUME 15

8

INDIANA COLLECTION

INDIANAPOLIS
1949

977.2

In 5

OFFICERS, 1949

WILLIAM O. LYNCH, *President*

JOHN G. RAUCH, *First Vice-President*

LEE BURNS, *Second Vice-President*

CORNELIUS O'BRIEN, *Third Vice-President*

EVANS WOOLLEN, JR., *Treasurer*

HOWARD H. PECKHAM, *Secretary*

Executive Committee: The officers of the Society and
ANTON SCHERRER, *Chairman*; JOHN D. BARNHART, HARRY O.
GARMAN, ELI LILLY, and RICHARD B. SEALOCK

Editor: GAYLE THORNBROUGH

*Betty: makes backroom
pocket for
map 3-m.*

669277

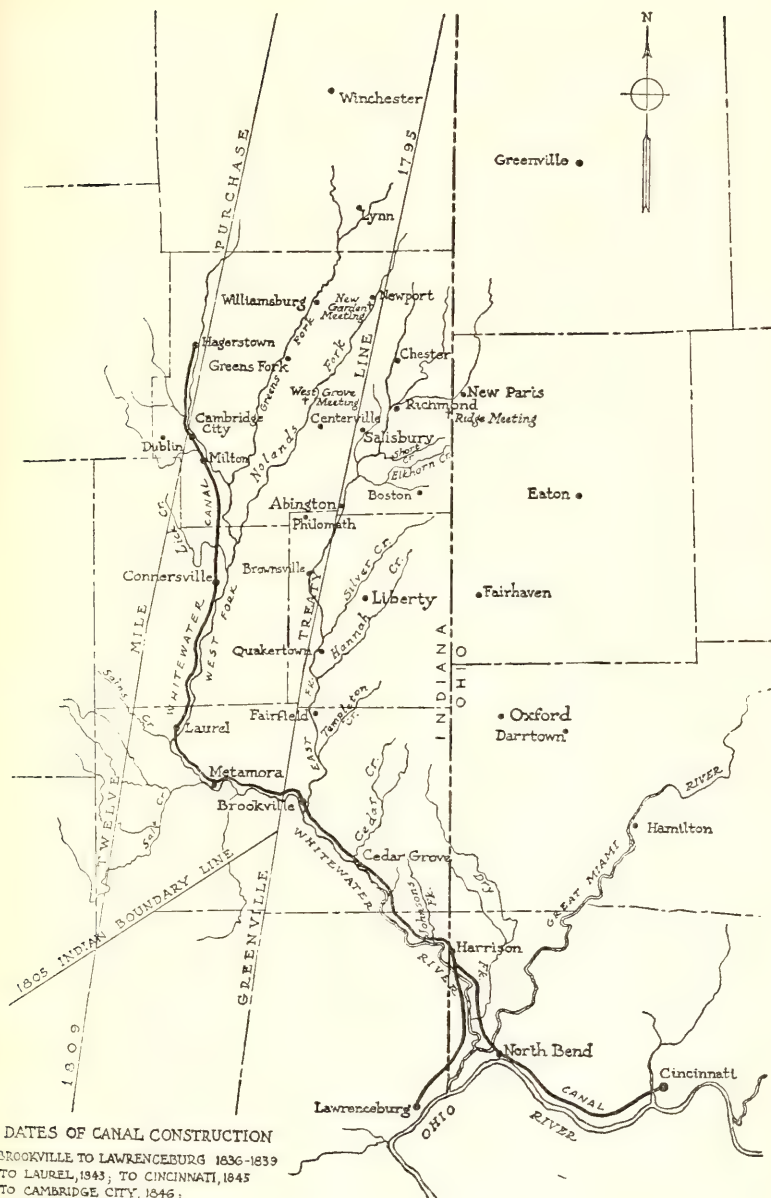
CONTENTS

	PAGE
No. 1. PIONEER SKETCHES OF THE UPPER WHITEWATER VALLEY, QUAKER STRONGHOLD OF THE WEST, by Bernhard Knollenberg.....	I
No. 2. THE BUFFALO TRACE, by George R. Wilson and Gayle Thornbrough	173
No. 3. EDUCATION AND REFORM AT NEW HARMONY, edited by Arthur E. Bestor, Jr.....	281
No. 4 THE VINCENNES DONATION LANDS, by Leonard Lux, O.S.B.	419



INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME 15
NUMBER 1

WHITEWATER VALLEY



DATES OF CANAL CONSTRUCTION

BROOKVILLE TO LAWRENCEBURG 1836-1839
 TO LAUREL, 1843; TO CINCINNATI, 1845
 TO CAMBRIDGE CITY, 1846;
 TO HAGERSTOWN, 1847.

Scale Miles

PIONEER SKETCHES OF THE UPPER
WHITEWATER VALLEY

Quaker Stronghold of the West

By Bernhard Knollenberg



INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1945

In Memory
of my father and mother
George H. and Agnes Steen Knollenberg

PREFACE

I WROTE this book because I was born and brought up in the Whitewater Valley and love it. But I have a special reason for publishing it at this time. In 1908, Josiah Royce said in his *Philosophy of Loyalty*: "We need . . . in this country, a new and wiser provincialism. . . . the sort of provincialism which makes people want to idealize . . . their own province; to hold sacred its traditions, to honor its worthy dead." "Further centralization of power in the national government," he continues, "without a constantly enriched and diversified provincial consciousness, can only increase the estrangement of our national spirit from its own life." These words are even more apposite today.

My story runs from the earliest white settlement on the Upper Whitewater to the coming of the railroads in 1853. In ending with this event, I do not mean to imply that the later history of the valley is uninteresting or unimportant—quite the contrary. But the history of the period after railroad transportation began consists largely of the growth of the valley's large-scale manufacturing plants and their place in the world economy, and I am not prepared to handle so extensive a canvas.

Two or three of those who have read my manuscript have complained that it expresses too little of my own feeling for the Indiana countryside. They hoped for a *Rivers-of-America* type of volume. I recognize the value of such books, but I wrote from a different point of view. My purpose is not, except incidentally, to describe the Whitewater or its people as I have known them, but to portray, as far as the written records make possible, the early days of white settlement in the valley. Fortunately, for my purpose, probably no other spot in Indiana has a fuller record of its pioneer years than the Upper Whitewater Valley. A large proportion of the early settlers were Quakers; and the Friends, having eschewed the sword, were zealous wielders of the pen. I have told my story as far as possible in the pioneers' own words.

It is pleasant to recall the persons whose help has made this book possible. My thanks are due above all to Miss Mary Withington, of Yale University; Miss Caroline Dunn, Miss Gayle Thornbrough, and the late Christopher B. Coleman, of the Indiana Historical Society; Harry O. Garman of Indianapolis; and Luther M. Feeger of Richmond, Indiana.

Among others who have helped me are Walter R. Miles, Miss Mary Wheeler, and Miss Anne Pratt, of New Haven, Connecticut; Harlow Lindley of Columbus, Ohio; Dudley Cates of Chicago; Francis C. Taylor of Philadelphia; my sister Miss Margaret Knollenberg, Miss Marguerite Hill, Mrs. Ada L. Bernhardt, Mrs. Electa Henley Wilson, Miss Sarah Geist, Miss Opal Thornburg, Robert N. Huff, Lawrence J. King, and my cousin Miss Ruth Hieger, of Richmond; Mrs. William H. Coleman, Mrs. Marguerite Anderson, Miss Ethel M. Moore, the late Miss Laurel Conwell Thayer, L. L. Dickerson, William G. Sullivan, and Wilbur D. Peat, of Indianapolis; the staff of the Yale University Library; Mrs. Ruth K. Nuernberger, Philip W. Furnas, and Charles E. Rush, of North Carolina; the Honorable Herbert Hoover; Mrs. Karl W. Heiser of Hamilton, Ohio; Ezra R. Guard of Cleves, Ohio; Mrs. Elizabeth Hatfield of Centerville, Indiana; George A. Ball of Muncie, Indiana; Roy G. Fitzgerald of Dayton, Ohio; Mrs. Mary Jay Ballard of Whittier, California; Ross F. Lockridge of Bloomington, Indiana; Ralph R. Rees, Cornelius O'Brien, and Corinne R. Tebbs, of Lawrenceburg, Indiana; C. R. Staples of Lexington, Kentucky; Ralph R. Catterall of Richmond, Virginia; Thomas W. Streeter of Morristown, New Jersey; and Miss Elizabeth Price, Jonathan Daniels, Robert Gooch, Luther H. Evans, Lawrence Martin, Clarence E. Carter, David C. Mearns, of Washington, D. C., Henry J. Cadbury of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Carl W. Ackerman of New York City.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Whitewater Valley.....	13
Settlement of the Upper Valley	
The Friends Reach the Valley.....	18
The Kentucky Settlement.....	22
Henry Hoover Reminisces.....	27
Edward Bond Visits His Sons.....	32
Life and Death on the Whitewater.....	37
Early Government and Growth.....	47
Whitewater Friends Meeting.....	53
A Carolinian Looks at Indiana.....	62
The Underground Railroad.....	66
Henry Clay Makes a Speech.....	74
Nathan Thomas and the Free Produce Movement.....	83
The Shouting Methodists.....	90
Joseph Tarkington	97
The National Road.....	103
The Whitewater Canal.....	108
The Germans Reach the Valley.....	116
Elijah Coffin and Dr. Plummer.....	120
Earlham College	125
Gold!	130
The Railroads Arrive.....	135
Appendix: Down the Whitewater in 1940.....	143
Sources	149
Index	159

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Map of the Whitewater Valley, by Ernest Jackson . . <i>frontispiece</i>	
Richmond, Indiana, about 1850, by Lefevre J. Cranstone. Courtesy of Indiana University Library, Bloomington	48
Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends 1844, by Marcus Mote	54
National Road Bridge over the Whitewater at Richmond, 1892	104
Earlham Hall, about 1855. Courtesy of Earlham College Library	126

THE WHITEWATER VALLEY

TRAVELERS on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad from Dayton to Indianapolis cross both branches of the Whitewater. On approaching the Indiana border, the train emerges from the flat terrain of central Ohio into a valley flanked by beautiful green hills. The stream that flashes into sight is the east fork of the East Fork of the Whitewater. At Richmond, Indiana, where the railroad crosses East Fork, the valley is so narrow as to be almost a gorge, with the stream sixty feet below the surrounding country. At Cambridge City the track crosses West Fork.

To appreciate fully the picturesqueness of the Whitewater Valley the traveler must leave the railroad and go southward. As the two forks approach each other at Brookville, the valley becomes wider and hillier, with some of the hills rising several hundred feet above the river. The finest scenery is from Brookville to Harrison, where the river enters the state of Ohio. From there to its near-by junction with the Great Miami, the Whitewater is broader and more placid and is surrounded by less rolling country; six miles below the junction, the waters of the two streams flow into the Ohio.

Branson L. Harris, of a pioneer Whitewater family, remembered that when he was a youngster "the high land seemed to grow all kinds of timber . . . such as yellow poplar, white oak, bur-oak, pin-oak, black oak, gray and blue ash, hickory, black and white walnut, maple, beech, and red oak, wild cherry, sugar-tree, sycamore, buckeye, black gum, and a great variety of undergrowth of various kinds. On the bottom lands the principal growth was sycamore, black walnut, white or hickory elm, some shell-bark hickory, blue ash, some white and bur-oak, and buckeye, and sugar-tree."¹ And there is much other testimony to the variety and density of the superb

¹ Harris, Branson L., *Some Recollections of My Boyhood* (Indianapolis [1907]), p. 18.

native forest growth. The prevailing soil, blue limestone marl, is well covered with humus and extremely fertile.

The numerous mounds of the prehistoric people scattered throughout the valley show that they had settlements here, as well as along the Ohio. The immediate predecessors of the white man in the Whitewater region, the Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware Indians, apparently preferred to reserve the valley exclusively for hunting.

The rich promise of the valleys of the western country was soon known to eager pioneers. As early as 1784 Washington was urging the exploration of the western waters and the mapping of the country "at least, as far westward as the Miamies running into the Ohio and Lake Erie . . . to see how the waters of them communicate with the river St. Joseph which empties into the Lake Michigan, and with the Wabash."²

In 1787 Congress enacted the famous Ordinance providing for the government of the vast national territory lying northwest of the Ohio River, and later sold land in present southern Ohio as far west as the Great Miami River. Settlers moved across the mountains, villages were founded, but peace and security were not theirs. Constant fear of Indian depredations hung over them, and crimes, cruel and horrible, murder and counter-murder by pioneer and Indian marked their lives.

The Federal Government tried first to smooth the storms and win security and justice for both parties by negotiation. But with peace missions and overtures failing, and with the pioneers clamoring for harsh measures, military expeditions to awe and curb the Indians were ordered. The first of these, in 1790, led by General Josiah Harmar against the Miami Indian town at the site of Fort Wayne, was ineffective. The next year General St. Clair assembled an army at Fort Washington, near Cincinnati, and in September moved northward.

St. Clair's army struck the Great Miami at the present site of Hamilton, Ohio, and then proceeded almost due north to the site of Fort Recovery. On October 11, 1791, one of his officers, Major Ebenezer Denny of Pennsylvania, made what

² Fitzpatrick, John C. (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* . . . 1745-1799 (39 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1931-44), XXVIII, 11-12.

may be the first record of the Whitewater other than that found on maps.³ On that day he recorded that "about twelve [o'clock] arrived at a pretty little creek running west, supposed to be a branch of White river. Fresh trails of Indians discovered. . . . country very level, well watered and timbered." Denny's record implies that the army crossed this creek at a point about thirty-five miles northwest of Hamilton, Ohio, which would make it a tributary of the East Fork of the Whitewater, not a branch of the White River which flows into the Wabash.

St. Clair's expedition met with disaster, but General Anthony Wayne's victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers in 1794 ushered in a period of comparative peace and security. At the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 the Indians ceded their title to lands lying east of a line drawn from Fort Recovery, in present northwestern Ohio, southwest to a point on the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River. Thus the eastern half of the Whitewater Valley would be open for white settlement as soon as the Federal Government should survey and sell the land. Surveys were completed and the land put up for sale on the opening of the Federal Land Office at Cincinnati, April 9, 1801.

In 1800 the Northwest Territory was divided. The eastern portion, constituting roughly the present state of Ohio, with Chillicothe on the Scioto as its capital, retained the name Northwest Territory. The remainder, with Vincennes on the lower Wabash as its capital, was named Indiana Territory. At the time of the division, all the land east of the Greenville Treaty line was left in the Northwest Territory, but, when Ohio became a state in 1803, a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami was made the western boundary of the new state. The gore of land between this boundary line

³ Denny, William H., "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny . . . with an Introductory Memoir," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VII (1860), 359. The first known mention of the Whitewater by its present name is on Samuel Lewis' map of the Northwest Territory published in 1796. On John Mitchell's famous map of 1755 showing the British and French dominions in North America it is called "West Branch," i. e., west branch of the Great Miami.

and the Greenville Treaty line, containing most of the Whitewater Valley, was added to Indiana Territory.

This gore was made a separate county, Dearborn, with Lawrenceburg, on the Ohio, eight miles southwest of the junction of the Whitewater and the Great Miami, as county seat. The valley of the West Fork of Whitewater lying west of the Greenville Treaty line was opened for white settlement by the Grouseland and Twelve Mile Purchase treaties concluded with the Indians in 1805 and 1809, and was put on sale in 1810.

Jacob Parkhurst recalls that when he hunted on the lower Whitewater in the winter of 1790-91 not a white person had settled on the river.⁴ But some of the two hundred families mentioned by Winthrop Sargent in a letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering on January 8, 1798, as "Intruders upon the Lands of the United States . . . immediately over the great miami (In Knox County)" presumably were located on the lower Whitewater. Probably they were the same trans-Miami settlers who a year later petitioned Congress to grant them preference in purchasing the land on which they had squatted and to sell it to them in smaller quantity than a full section, adding that there were "a number of fractions [of sections] on the Miami and Whitewater Rivers."⁵

By the spring of 1801 settlers had advanced some distance up the lower valley, as appears from the diaries of John Peter Kluge and Abraham Luckenbach, Moravian brothers bound for an ill-fated mission among the Delawares on White River near the site of Anderson, Indiana. On April 15, 1801, they and their party left the Ohio and started northward. "After we had gone a mile up the Miami," they recorded in their diary, "we came to the mouth of the White Water Creek. Here we left the Miami and entered the White Water. The current was much stronger than the Miami." The night of the seventeenth they "encamped opposite a mill and were visited by many white people." Under date of the eighteenth they

⁴ *Sketches of the Life and Adventures of Jacob Parkhurst . . .* [Knights-town, Ind., 1893?], p. 21.

⁵ Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (volumes I- . . . Washington, D. C., 1934-), III, 49-52, 497.

recorded: "We continued our journey in the same way and walked with our cows through this beautiful country. It was all flat and in the woods was the finest grass, looking like a meadow. Almost every mile there are farms, the owners of which have nearly all moved here from Kentucky. In the evening we came to an Irishman by the name of Harper. He is a good, old man and seems to be an active Presbyterian. He welcomed us and put our cows into his field. We and our Indians pitched our tent quite near the same. He gave the Indians milk and us potatoes free of charge."⁶

About 1803 John Conner and his Delaware Indian wife established a store on the Whitewater near the site of Cedar Grove, a few miles below the future settlement of Brookville, and, in 1804, a colony of South Carolinians settled at Fairfield on East Fork, a few miles north of Brookville. Settlers did not penetrate the Upper Valley until 1805 and 1806, when two permanent settlements were made, the first, the "Kentucky settlement" on Short Creek, south of Richmond, and the second at the site of Richmond by Friends from North Carolina. Interesting accounts of both of these have been preserved for us by persons closely connected with the incidents.

⁶ Gipson, Lawrence Henry (ed.), *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River . . . 1799 . . . to 1806* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XXIII, Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 82-83.

SETTLEMENT OF THE UPPER VALLEY

The Friends Reach The Valley

ONE OF the great folk movements in American history was the migration to Ohio and Indiana of southern Friends during the first forty years of the nineteenth century. By the time this movement ran its course, North Carolina, the center of the Society of Friends in the South, was largely denuded of its Quaker inhabitants, and a town on the Whitewater had replaced Philadelphia as the center of the Orthodox Friends in the United States.

In some cases, antipathy to slavery was the moving force. Thus Borden Stanton, who, with some other North Carolina Friends had moved to the Northwest Territory in 1800, wrote:¹ "For several years . . . [we] had some distant view of moving out of that oppressive part of the land, but did not know where until the year 1799; when . . . some traveling Friends . . . thought proper to propose . . . whether it would not be agreeable to best wisdom for us unitedly to remove northwest of the Ohio river,—to a place where there were no slaves held, being a free country." "The first of us moved west of the Ohio in the ninth month, 1800; and none of us had a house at our command to meet in to worship the Almighty Being. So we met in the woods, until houses were built, which was but a short time."

In others it was a search for health. Aaron White, for example, whom we shall meet later, moved to the Whitewater from North Carolina in the hope of finding a more healthful spot for his ailing wife. Apparently, however, the most

¹ Quoted in Weeks, Stephen B., *Southern Quakers and Slavery. A Study in Institutional History* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Extra Volume XV, Baltimore, 1896), pp. 256-57, 259.

common motive, as in most of the major movements to the west, was the hope of economic betterment.²

The time and manner of the coming of the first Friends to the valley is told in the simple words of a local classic, *Memoir of David Hoover*. At the age of seventy-three David Hoover looked over his span of life and wrote his narrative, published three years later, in 1857.³

"I was born on a small water-course, called Huwaree, a branch of the Yadkin river, in Randolph county, North Carolina, on the 14th day of April, 1781. . . .

"As to my ancestors, I know but little. If my information is correct, my grandfather, Andrew Hoover [Huber] left Germany when a boy;⁴ married Margaret Fouts, in Pennsylvania; and settled on Pipe creek, in Maryland. There my father [Andrew, Jr.] was born; and from thence, now about one hundred years ago, he removed to North Carolina, then a new country. He left eight sons and five daughters, all of whom had large families. Their descendants are mostly scattered through what we call the Western country. Rudolph Waymire, my grandfather on my mother's side, emigrated from Hanover in Germany, after he had several children. . . . He left one son and seven daughters by his first wife, and seven sons by a second wife. Their descendants are also mostly to be found in this country.

"My father had a family of ten children, four sons and six daughters. In order to better our circumstances, he came to the conclusion of moving to a new country, and sold his possessions accordingly. He was then worth rising of two

² The North Carolina Friends appear to have been an unusually ambulatory folk, even according to American standards. Most of them had come to North Carolina not long before the American Revolution, largely from Nantucket Island, and a considerable proportion of those who moved to Ohio and Indiana soon pushed west beyond the Mississippi, to Iowa and Kansas.

³ *Memoir of David Hoover* . . . with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix by Isaac H. Julian (Richmond, Ind., 1857).

⁴ This Andrew Hoover was the great-great-great grandfather of former President Hoover, whose family was among the large number of Friends that moved from North Carolina to Ohio and thence to Iowa.

thousand dollars; which at that time, and in that country, was considered very considerably over an average in point of wealth. On the 19th of September, 1802, we loaded our wagon, and wended our way toward that portion of what was then called the North-western Territory which constitutes the present State of Ohio.

.
 "After about five weeks' journeying, we crossed the Ohio river at Cincinnati, then a mere village, composed mostly of log houses. I think it was the day after an election had been held at that place for delegates to the Convention to form a Constitution; at any rate, a Constitution was formed the following winter, which was amended only within the last few years. After crossing the river, we pushed on to Stillwater, about twelve miles north of Dayton, in what is now the county of Montgomery. A number of our acquaintances had located themselves there the previous spring. There we encamped in the woods the first winter. . . . Our object was to find a suitable place for making a settlement, and where but few or no entries had been made. . . .

"Thus time passed on until the spring of 1806, when myself and four others, rather accidentally, took a section line some eight or ten miles north of Dayton, and traced it a distance of more than thirty miles, through an unbroken forest, to where I am now writing. It was the last of February, or first of March, when I first saw Whitewater. On my return to my father's, I informed him that I thought I had found the country we had been in search of. Spring water, timber, and building-rock appeared to be abundant, and the face of the country looked delightful. In about three weeks after this, my father, with several others, accompanied me to this 'land of promise.' . . . With the exception of George Holman and a few others,⁵ who settled some miles south of this, in

⁵ In a newspaper article in 1853 Hoover wrote: "The first human beings we saw were two Indian trappers and their squaws. They were encamped near where the Railroad Bridge now stands. They informed us by holding up their fingers, that it was about 'three miles to white man's house.' We then went down the stream to where Richard Rue then lived.

the spring of 1805, there were but few families within twenty miles of this place.

"It was not until the last of May or first of June that the first entries were made. John Smith then entered south of Main-street, where Richmond now stands, and several other tracts. My father entered the land upon which I now live, I having selected it on my first trip, and several other quarter sections. About harvest of this same year, Jeremiah Cox reached here from good old North Carolina, and purchased where the north part of Richmond now stands. . . . Jeremiah Cox, John Smith, and my father, were then looked upon as rather leaders in the Society of Friends. Their location here had a tendency of drawing others, and soon caused a great rush to Whitewater. . . ."

The next year Hoover married Catharine Yount and brought his bride to the Whitewater. "This," he wrote, "may emphatically be said to have been the day of 'log-cabins' and log-rollings; and, although we were in an unbroken forest, without even a blazed pathway from one settlement to another, we yet enjoyed a friendship, and a neighborly interchange of kind offices, which are unknown at this time. . . . It was the first week in April before some of us commenced operations in the woods; but we mostly raised corn enough to do us. There was, however, no mill to grind it, and for some weeks we grated all the meal we made use of. About Christmas, Charles Hunt started a mill, on a cheap scale, near the mouth of Elkhorn, which did our grinding until J[eremiah] Cox established one near to where Richmond now stands. . . ."

Hoover's recollections of the founding of the Friends' settlement are supplemented by the "Memoirs" of his fellow pioneer, Jeremiah Cox, who wrote:⁶ "We stayed in Ohio one month, and started for the Whitewater, and came to Eaton, which had been laid out the previous third month. Several

Richard Rue, George Holman, Thomas McCoy and a few others had located themselves there the spring before, in the year 1805." Quoted in *Memoir of David Hoover*, Appendix, p. 40.

⁶Quoted in *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), p. 45.

cabins were built, and the streets so full of logs and brush that it was with difficulty that we could pass along. From thence we followed a trail that John Harden and Owen Darby (perhaps a few others) had moved along a few weeks previous to our coming, to where they settled on Elkhorn Creek, near the western boundary of the state of Ohio. From thence we had our road to cut through brush, nettles and logs to where Richmond now is. . . . The next three or four years after our arrival the people settled here very fast; the road that we cut to move along brought the land hunters to our house."

This early road and one along the east fork of East Fork to New Paris, Ohio, were apparently the only wagon roads on the Upper Whitewater in the earlier days, though bridle paths were, of course, soon established among the pioneer settlements.

The Kentucky Settlement

The little "Kentucky settlement" on Short Creek, about two and a half miles south of Richmond, which David Hoover visited, had had its beginning the year before (1805). An account of its founding was published serially in the *Richmond Palladium* in 1860 and 1861. The articles, signed by "Elkhorn" are attributed to Sanford C. Cox, who proudly relates the stories told him by his father, Joseph Cox, father of the settlement.⁷

In February, 1805, Richard Rue, George Holman and his two sons, Joseph and William, Joseph Cox and his bride, Mary Rue Cox, daughter of Richard Rue, Thomas McCoy, and William Blunt had set out from Henry County, Kentucky, to explore the country up the Whitewater. Joseph Cox and his bride had brought with them "the sum total of their goods and chattles," and were prepared "to pitch their tabernacle in the wilderness whenever they found a place that suited their fancy."

The little party made camp on Short Creek at the site of their later settlement and explored the land around.⁸ So

⁷ These articles appeared in the *Palladium* from July 26, 1860, through January 31, 1861, under title, "Old Settlers of Wayne County." A type-written copy is filed in the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

⁸ Here in February, 1811, the first judicial court in Wayne County was held. The next session of the court, the first to conduct any proceedings,

favorably were they impressed that Rue and Holman and other members of the expedition returned home to prepare to bring back their families and household goods, leaving the young Cox couple, Holman's two sons, and Patrick O'Harra behind.

For more than two months the little group of four men and one woman lived in a wilderness frequented by Indians and wild beasts, thirty miles from any white settlement. The attitude of the red men seemed to be friendly. Hadn't they risen to the occasion when Cox and his helpers got the logs for the cabin cut but couldn't raise them? A group of Shawnee and Delawares passing by had willingly joined in and together the whites and the Indians co-operated in building what was probably the first log cabin in the region. But there were instances when young Cox must have feared for the welfare of the little party for which he was responsible. In one article Elkhorn relates the story of the Shawnee who appeared at Cox's sugar camp one day and demanded that they trade their watchdog for a handkerchief full of trinkets. When Joseph refused, the Indian became more and more determined, and rising and striking his gun to the ground, shouted, "Shall swap!" Joseph, on pretense of stirring the fire over which the great black sugar kettle was bubbling, made his way to the stump where his rifle was resting and suddenly seizing it, pointed it at the Indian's breast and ordered, "Puck-a-shee! Go home!" The Indian, taken completely by surprise, did as he was ordered.

On two succeeding mornings, the Coxes were warned by friendly Indians that hostilities were to be resumed against the whites on the frontiers when "the leaves on the trees were as large as a squirrel's ear," and were urged to flee back to Kentucky while the going was safe. The young pioneer was reluctant to withdraw, and after pondering their situation, the group decided to stay in "their cabin citadel, and trust to Providence for the future guidance of events."

was in March. Tradition has it "that the court was held in the woods, and the seats consisted of family chairs and logs; and that the jurors retired for deliberation to logs at a suitable distance." Young, Andrew W., *History of Wayne County, Indiana* . . . (Cincinnati, 1872), pp. 80-81.

It was shortly after this that twelve braves came to the little clearing where Mary and Joseph were working. They gave a war whoop, then seated themselves in a row on a log and contemplated the young couple. It was not an easy moment. Joseph summoned all his calmness and courage. He told Mary to go into the cabin, leave the door so she could admit him quickly, and load the rifle. Then turning toward the red men, he offered to shake their hands. This they sullenly refused and "scowled fearfully" upon him. But Joseph, on pretext of admiring their guns, passed down the line, and, picking up each weapon, dextrously removed the priming and disarranged the flints.

"Whether they discovered the cunning ruse which he was playing upon them, or not, is somewhat uncertain," says the narrator, but the results were good, for "the Indians simultaneously rose from the log, laughed long and loud, patted the young man on the back, and said, 'Good—brave man! Brave squaw!' pointing to the cabin." Thereupon Joseph invited the Indians to the cabin where they feasted together in friendliness and good feeling.

The happy conclusion to this story, according to Elkhorn, was that the Coxes were favorites with the Indians from then on, and their cabin was honored by visits from the chiefs and headmen.

In April, the party from Kentucky arrived in the valley—Richard Rue, George Holman and their families, John Collins, Daniel Griffin, and others. Fall brought the McCoy and Blunt families, and as the months passed more settlers moved up the valley. As the settlements grew the Indians appeared less and less often, but Elkhorn recalled that as late as 1816 he had seen between three and four hundred Shawnee and Delawares encamped on the west side of the East Fork.

Along with the red men there was another frequenter of the valley that was to disappear as the white settlements increased. This was the carrier pigeon. Incredible clouds of these birds filled the air in the pioneer days. "Some flights would pass far above the tree tops while others would skim along almost grazing the tops of the hills," Elkhorn remem-

bered. "During the time they were passing so thickly, the people of the neighborhoods, for many miles around, would assemble on the hilltops and with clubs strike down bagsful and often wagon loads of pigeons in an hour or two. The flying armies of birds scraped over the summit of the hills so near the ground that little boys and girls could strike them down with clubs.

"These pigeon roosts, or more properly pigeon towns, often covered several sections of beech forests. The beech tree furnishing an inexhaustible amount of mast, and convenient boughs on which to build nests, and rear their young ones. I have seen from 50 to 100 persons with wagons and horses at these pigeon roosts at one time for the purpose of catching squabs or young pigeons. This was done by pounding on the tree that contained the young birds' nests, which would so frighten the unfledged squabs that in attempting to fly from its nest, it would fall to the ground and was captured. . . .

"Pigeon-catchers had to keep on the look out, for often so many pigeons would alight on one limb or tree, that it would fall with a crash and scare up such a cloud of birds that their wings sounded like distant thunder as they swept through the forest, alighting again on another tree not far distant, which would also fall with a crash or be dismantled of several of its largest limbs, and another wave of thunder reverberates through the surrounding woods."

David Hoover lived in the valley until his death in 1866, a citizen who served his community faithfully as justice of the peace, associate judge, and county clerk. He laid out the city of Richmond in 1816, and claimed for himself the honor of having chosen its name.⁹ Joseph Cox saw service in the War of 1812 and then returned and took up the study of law under

⁹ Hoover did not say why he chose the name of Richmond. Henry Gannett's *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States* (U. S. Geological Survey, *Bulletin No. 258*. 2 ed. Washington, D. C., 1905), p. 262, says that Richmond, Indiana, was named after Richmond, Virginia. No proof is given, however, and I think the Indiana village was probably named after Richmond, Kentucky. This was the first village of any consequence west of the Alleghenies which the early traveler passed through on the route commonly taken from the southeast to the Whitewater.

James Noble. In 1824 he moved to Montgomery County and started to practice. For a while he lived on the Wea plains, but in the true pioneer spirit he kept moving west, and in 1836 he settled in Rock Island County, Illinois.

HENRY HOOVER REMINISCES

ABOUT 1855 or 1856 Henry Hoover, son of Andrew, Jr., and brother of David, wrote: "The generation which is now active, and on whose shoulders the government either civil or religious must rest, naturally feel an interest in the characters of their predecessors, and altho never having seen them, they feel interested in their history." Thereupon he set down what he called "reminiscences of the lives of departed friends," a series of sketches of the founders of the Friends' settlement on the Whitewater which became Richmond.¹

His first subject was Jeremiah Cox, "the Ajax or Solomon of the first settlement." "In stature," he wrote, "he was rising six feet of a sound constitution, and in dress and address as plain as original quakerism dare to be—the legs of his pantaloons were so wide that he could tuck the tail of them in the waistbands, and then easily be ready to wade deep creeks of which he was not afraid. In judgment where right and wrong had to be determined, I would have preferred him to a Greek or Hebrew schollar. He came to the Territory worth 35 hundred dollars—was considered in those days of honesty, to be quite rich. He imigrated from Randolph County N. Carolina, and halted a few weeks in Warren County Ohio, and in August 1806 moved to White Water, and purchased the half section north of the National road, on a part of which Richmond now stands. . . . He soon erected a large log house, and the whipsaw furnished the flooring— When it was suggested to lathe and plaster overhead, he observed that he would not be deprived of the priviledge of hanging up his hat on a nail or peg in the joists for any consideration. He soon built a shop, and put up his Blacksmith tools, and tho no master workman, could nevertheless work iron in any form he wanted it. He was also a Tinker, and brought with him tools and tin plates

¹ Hoover, Henry. Memorandum written for Charles F. Coffin in 1855 or 1856. Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library of original in the Coffin Papers in the Earlham College Library.

at which business he wrought on rainy days. But the greatest benefit consisted in his mill building, which he entered upon immediately after his other work was completed. His grist and saw mill were of the primitive kind, but were almost invaluable in their day. He had a surveyors Compass and Chain and made himself acquainted with the divisions and subdivisions of vacant lands, and was always on hand, to leave his work, and pass days in showing his friends the best situations at Congress prices, and tho himself a newcomer, and provisions and horse feed scarce, yet I suppose he never made a bill for his time or other outlays. After Richmond became somewhat settled, and he with his horses had tramped out some wheat, he would lieisurely walk each street, informing the women that they now might get straw to fill their under beds. In the year 1816 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention, and afterward a member of the House of Representatives. Here he was out of his element, and Corydon where the assembly then met was no place for the mind of Jeremiah Cox. When in 1825, I took my seat as a Representative from Wayne County, and became acquainted with Senator Thompson from Clark County, and who was associated in Corydon with J. Cox, he inquired of me 'why we had sent that good old quaker to the legislature, that he was a fish out of water.'

"Jeremiah Cox carried out his principles as a friend to the letter, diligent in his attendance of meetings, and in every good word and work. He could not endure the noise and confusion of the town, and he did not wish his children to become partakers of the vices and fashions in it. . . .

"Since those days of primitive quakerism, a great change has passed over this County, for I well remember, that several members of the society, men with families, and myself of that number, would leave the plow wet up to the shoulders, with the dew off the growing corn, and walk to meeting barefoot, and forming where we sat, quite a puddle of dirty water. The question of the divinity of Jesus, and the resurrection of the Body were not mooted, but friendship, and cordial good feeling existed all through the society. We had no money changers, no

sharing institutions called Banks, and money from neighbor to neighbor was loaned without interest."

Of John Smith, Hoover wrote: ". . . [He] was a spare built man, nearly six feet in high, a man of business habits, or would have been so by practice. He was gentlemanly and courteous in his manners, would give a General or other officer their titles in his conversation [an extreme concession for a good Quaker]. He opened in 1808 a small shop of dry goods and groceries, which at any time, would not have loaded a common dray, but by close application he made it pay a good profit. It was said that the profits of his store kept down the expenses of his Brick house then erecting. He was a close observer of Friends Dicipline, and faithful in the attendance of Friends meeting. Tho not worth more than two thousand dollars when he arrived in the Territory he by selling lots etc became quite wealthy for the times, and was liberal to a fault in the support of the Church and contributions to aid poor travelling ministers in their outfit etc."

The next subject of the sketch was Ephraim Overman, "a man over the medium size quite oppulent, and square built. He emigrated from Perquimans to Randolph [N. C.], thence to Grayson County Va, and in 1808 landed with his family, where Soloman Horney now lives. He was a poor man, borrowed the eight dollars to enter his land, but by industry paid for it. He was a considerable reader, and quite a considerable talker, and generally to the purpose. In 1810 he was elected a Territorial Representative at which time the Lawmakers convened at Vincennes. W. H. Harrison Governor. During this session the Friends of Whitewater got up a petition asking the Legislature to exempt them from military duty. Friends appointed Andrew Hoover and Benj. Harris to attend the session with the petition, no mails then heard of in that direction. The prayers of the Petitioners were granted, which produced quite an excitement among our Kentucky neighbors, and at the next session the Law was repealed. Ephraim Overman and my Father timed [i.e., stood up to indicate that the meeting was over] the first religious meeting of Friends on Whitewater, and continued in that relation while Ep. Over-

man lived within its verge. He sold his farm and moved into Randolph County [Ind.] where he ended his days in a good old age."

Of his father, Andrew Hoover, he wrote: "My Father was born in Maryland, and when ten years old moved to N. C. Randolph County, about the year 1760, and in 1802 sold his farm for 1500 dollars, and halted at the Cabin of one of his Brothers on Stillwater 12 miles North of Dayton. Some seventy persons great and small of his acquaintance had the previous spring settled there, and everyone had had the ague and fever. This alarmed him, and in the spring of 1803 he bought a small farm in Warren County, and in 1806 sold it, and in the spring of 1807 moved to the place where he ended his days. He was 5 feet 8 inches heavily set and quite corpulent, of a sound constitution.

"He was a zealous quaker, and like Friends taken as a body, much like a certain Pharasee, was thankful that he was not like other man. He travelled much as a companion with ministers from a distance, and in some cases, acted as an interpreter among German settlements in Ohio. He had perhaps more liesure, and besides his heart was in the work. He was down on the fashions, in dress and address, and had he had the power no bird excepting the Dove, would have been allowed to praise their maker [the primitive Friends frowned on music]. The unfortunate [Hicksite] seperation in '27-8, sealed his enjoyment in Church matters, and was a steady theme of sorrow and pain and I think it quite probably hastened his dissolution."

"Samuel Charles," wrote Hoover, "was born in Perquimans County N. Carolina, moved to Randolph County, and in 1810 or 11, to the farm where Nathan Charles now lives, where he finished his course. He was over the common size, square built, ruddy complexion and truly an industrious man. In Carolina he was by some called Righteous Sammy Charles—he was liberal in helping the poor, and kind and amiable in his manners. . . . John Charles his oldest son settled where James Reeves now lives in 1805, an industrious, and respectable man, but in 1825 by an improper treatment by his attending physician was hurried into eternity."

“Benjamin Hill from North Carolina, to Grayson Va, and from there to where Hill’s Mill now stands, settled there in 1807—he was a man of enterprise and energy of character. In the war of 1812 he became convinced of the propriety of guarding the Frontier Settlements, and accordingly with rifle on shoulder, mounted his horse and ranged the outer settlements. For this breach of order he was disowned, and whether he was ever again reinstated I cannot say.”

Charles F. Coffin has left a description of Robert Morrisson, a North Carolina Friend who arrived, almost penniless, on the Whitewater in 1810; accumulated a small stake by trapping wolves and collecting the territorial bounty on them; and eventually became the leading merchant of the community. He was, says Coffin, “a short and heavy man, who dressed in the old fashioned Friends uniform. He wore a heavy long-furred beaver hat and was bald. He was a man who talked but little, nevertheless he had a pleasant personality. When entering upon a conference he would first remove his hat and place it between his feet, then take from the hat a large bandana handkerchief and mop his head, thereupon he would take out his snuffbox and take a pinch of snuff, ending up with a thundering sneeze. After that he was ready for business. He belonged to the liberal body of Friends called ‘Hicksites.’ It is said that he would never discuss religious matters but would say to those who addressed him upon the subject: ‘Thee talk with Dr. Plummer, I believe just like he does’.”²

² B[ernhardt], A[da] L., *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Morrisson-Reeves Library 1864-1939* (Richmond, Ind., 1939), p. [11].

EDWARD BOND VISITS HIS SONS

AMONG THE first to join the settlement of North Carolina Friends drawn to the Upper Whitewater by the favorable reports of Andrew Hoover, Jeremiah Cox, and John Smith, were William and Jesse Bond from the vicinity of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. They established their homes, and in 1809 their widowed father, Edward Bond, set out on horseback from North Carolina to visit them.

"I have had thoughts for some time past," wrote Edward, in the opening entry of a diary which he kept on the trip,¹ "to go to see my sons William & Jesse Bond who are living at white water in the indiana territory North west of ohio, and having consent of parties concern'd I set of[f] from my house about one o clock on the 17th day of the 7th month 1809—and second day of the week, in company with Adam Davis who was going there to vew the country. . . ."

The route followed by Edward—much of it the Wilderness Trail cut by the early immigrants to Kentucky—was the one commonly taken by the Carolina and Virginia travelers to the Whitewater² and is therefore worth recording in some detail. From Salem he pushed northwestward through Forsyth, Yadkin, and Surry counties, North Carolina, to the Blue Ridge Mountains and crossed into Grayson County, Virginia, where his son Joshua lived. By the fifth evening he had reached New River, Virginia, 147 miles from home. The four preceding

¹ Edward Bond's account of his journey to Indiana in 1809. Copy in Bond Collection Notebook, pp. 45-55, in Indiana Historical Society Library.

² My belief that this route was the one commonly taken is based on scattered hints and on the statement of Levi Coffin, who took this route in 1822, that it "was considered the best route for loaded wagons." *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* . . . (Western Tract Society, Cincinnati, 1876), p. 76.

In 1826 Coffin took a shorter but hillier way called the Kanawha Road route (*ibid.*, p. 106). Travelers taking this latter route apparently journeyed almost due north to the Ohio River at Point Pleasant in present West Virginia, and then either took boat to Cincinnati or crossed the river and traveled by road northwestward to the Upper Whitewater.

nights on the road he had stayed at the homes of his children or with friends. Now he had to put up at a stranger's. "The people ware civil," Edward records, "But the flees ware very troublsom. I got but little sleep." The next day the two travelers pushed ahead forty-eight miles to reach the neighborhood of Abingdon, Virginia, "a pirty town" of around "two hundred houses or more." Crossing the Holston "at the old iron works" and the Clinch Mountains at the Virginia-Tennessee border, they spent their third night out of Abingdon with a friend of Davis, Edward Clark, "at foot of clinch mountain. . . . in the State of Tinecy." Clark "used" them so "very kind" that they spent the next day and night visiting him before resuming their journey.

On the evening of their eleventh day, having ferried across the Clinch and Powell rivers and ridden thirty-five miles, the friends reached William White's public house near the famous Cumberland Gap, where Bond paid the extravagant sum of "7.s. 4" in Carolina money (about seventy-five cents) for a night's lodging for himself and his horse. Passing through the Gap from the northeastern tip of Tennessee into Kentucky, they rode for five days, by way of Richmond, Lexington, and Georgetown, to Big Eagle Creek in northern Kentucky. After crossing the Ohio River to Cincinnati, "ferridge 4s," they spent the better part of two days traveling northward in Ohio to the home of friends twenty miles from their final destination. The last day of the journey was so largely consumed in visiting old friends along the way that it was dark before they "got to Jesse Bond's at white water. And," Edward continued, "altho: we had a pilet from a house about half a mile from there, that apear'd pirty active yet he was so be set in the creek lowland to find the way that he at last call'd for a candle."

Fortunately Jesse heard the call and "when he saw how it was," wrote Edward, "he soon leaped over the fence and heasted to come to me as one that was both glad & sirprized he took us to where Phebe [Jesse's wife] was looking to see who it Should be & when she saw us she shoed much gladness to see us & hear from her people. . . ."

"And so," Bond laconically records in closing the record of

his journey, "after Super & some necessary discourse we went to bead—this is the 20th night from my home . . . the cost 8 dolers & 70 cents, the Miles 613 2/1."

The next day, August 6, 1809, was first day—Sunday—, and Edward, of course, attended Friends meeting, which he "admired to see so Large . . . so far back in the woods." He and his son were invited, with members of a committee from Miami Quarterly Meeting, Waynesville, Ohio, to have dinner after the service with Jeremiah Cox. This committee had come on a mission of high importance to Whitewater Friends—"to inspect freinds capeability of houlding a Monthly meeting at white water," as Edward expressed it. So far the Friends there had been granted merely an "indulged" meeting for worship. The committee was now to decide after due inspection, whether Whitewater was to attain the dignity of an "established" Monthly Meeting, having power to administer its own ecclesiastical affairs, including the right to take disciplinary action of various kinds and to "acknowledge" as lay ministers such members, men or women, as were qualified by their piety, eloquence, and zeal for this distinction.

Edward's first week was made notable by the arrival of another visitor—the distinguished Friends' minister, Stephen Grellet (Étienne de Grellet du Mabillier). Member of a rich and noble French Catholic family, Grellet was forced to flee his homeland during the terrors of the Revolution and arrived as a refugee in New York in 1795. Introduced to Quakerism through the writings of William Penn, he became a convert, and in 1798 was acknowledged a minister by the Monthly Meeting for the Northern District in Philadelphia. Shortly afterwards he began the fruitful missionary journeys, which, during the next forty years, carried him over much of Europe and America. Though he "felt poor," Edward attended fourth-day meeting to hear Grellet preach, and was duly rewarded. Grellet "had much," i. e., much of importance, "to say," and "a solid time" was had by those privileged to hear him.

After a few days' visit in the vicinity of Waynesville, where he was impressed to find a Friends meeting "large like unto

New Garden in N. Carolina," Edward returned to the Whitewater and took several excursions in the neighborhood. On August 25, he wrote, "William [the other Whitewater son who was away when Edward arrived] & Jesse & my self rid out in the unsettled parts in company with a young man of that neighbourhood. We went some miles through fine looking woods covered with peevines & Some places nettles which made my horse rave he not being used to them, however I kept a top & we went on vewing level lands with a Bundance of rich growths such as wallnut ash-poples lin[den] Suger [maple] beech Blewash [blue ash] Elm and sevrall other sorts & some of as big whit Oaks I think as ever I saw the sight was some thing transporting. . . ."

669277

The following day, on another ride, they "kill'd a Black rattle snake." The next day being first day, they indulged in no riding for pleasure. The following day Edward and his son William found Benjamin Harris and Adam Davis "diging in a mount" on the Harris farm "to see what sign of antiquity they could find." The mount, Edward recorded, "appear'd to be throwed up by hands in round form a bout five rods wide at the bottom & sharpish at the top & there was two ash trees a growing on the top one of them was large." However, "litle was found accept ashes & cole from a bout two feet deep to a bout nine, which was a bout the bottom. . . ."

Continuing their jaunt, they "took a rout out into the unsettled woods . . . towards the west fork [of East Fork of Whitewater] & vew'd the appearance of an old fort which is a rige of ground rais'd up about big a nough to stand a worm [zig-zag split rail] fence on, and it appears to be nearly foure square accept the corners—they ware rounding & contain'd as we suposed near 15 acres of land with in it; it had one oppen place about 20 or more feet wide towards the water which perhaps is about 30. rods from it, which we supposed to be the place of the gate.³ The land with in appear'd very rich the

³ The tradition of this old Indian fort or temple on West Fork was current in my boyhood days, and I made several attempts to find it, but never succeeded. I suppose some owner of the land tore it down to make it easier to cultivate his fields.

walls and iether side near alike & there is large trees growing on & with in the walls."

The party had hoped to get supper and spend the night at William Bond's on Middle Fork, but it got "very dark" and instead of floundering around in the darkness, "we tide our horses," Edward wrote, "made a fire & laid down on the ground with our Saddles under our heads covered with a blanket that Adam had with him so we went to sleep, & very soon next morning we set off again til about 9 or 10 o'clock & then come to a field of corn in the woods belonging [to] Isaac Commons. & Adam—thinking we might make free with his Brother in laws corn and not having eaten anything since breakfast the day before some of us was now pirty sharp set so after roasting & eating some roasted ears of corn we went on again in search of what we could see—We got a gain to my son William Bond and next day I went to meeting again at white water."

The following day, September 2, having prepared his horse for the return journey by stopping off "after meeting by a Smith Shop," Edward started back for North Carolina. He spent a day near Richmond, Kentucky, where he was much struck by a "spining masher [presumably run by water power] which was a curious sight," and stopped several days in southern Virginia and North Carolina visiting his scattered children. Even so he got back home in "about twenty days."

The following year Edward returned to the Whitewater for good, accompanied by his son Joseph. In a few years his sons Joshua and Edward, Jr., and his daughter Kezia (Mrs. Daniel North) joined their father on the Whitewater, where Bond became as familiar a name as Hoover, Cox, Hunt, Coffin, Charles, and Hill.

LIFE AND DEATH ON THE WHITEWATER

ONE SPRING day forty years ago, my older brother, Walter, said, as we started one of our Sunday buggy rides, "I've brought some supper along. We'll head for a spot today that will show you what the country used to be like before the settlers cut off the timber." Thus I came to know Lewis Woods, a fifty-acre tract of virgin forest on Greens Fork, preserved, by succeeding generations of the Quaker family from which it took its name, for all who cared to roam it unaccompanied by a gun.

The most striking aspect of the woods was not the tallness of the trees, though the struggle for light had drawn some of them to greater heights than elsewhere, but its somberness, compounded of extreme gloom and the exhalation rising from decaying leaves and the rotting trunks of fallen trees. The unfamiliar, flickerlike cry of the pileated woodpecker and the hoarse choo-choo of his red-bellied cousin added a note of peculiar wildness. In June, the "teacher-*teacher*-TEACHER" of the ubiquitous ovenbird became almost intolerably persistent. The spot harked back to the days before sunny fields of clover, corn, and oats encircled the woods; to the days when the pioneer clearings were mere pockets in a seemingly endless expanse of over-shadowing trees.

On the Whitewater, as elsewhere in the West, the pioneer farmers did not settle in villages. Each built his cabin in the midst of his farm near the most likely looking spring or other running water. Farther west, on the Wabash, there were prairies, long stretches of grass where, on a fair day, a man could see and feel the sun from its rising to its setting, and if he had neighbors, keep in visual touch with them. The Whitewater region was almost solid forest land, broken only by occasional ponds, swamps, or streams. Unless the pioneer lived near a pond, climbed one of the highest trees on a hilltop, or stood on a cliff overlooking the river, his horizon, even in winter, was a narrow circle of tree trunks. Eventually, of

course, a farm or even several neighboring farms were largely cleared, and the horizon of the neighborhood widened. Even then the countryside was desolated by innumerable stumps and standing skeletons of trees, killed by girdling in order to let the sunlight reach the meadows and crops.

There was little speculative holding of land on the Whitewater. The typical frontier farm in that region was a quarter section of 160 acres, the minimum acreage that the Federal Government could sell under the act of 1804. The price was \$2.00 an acre.

The first task of the pioneer was to clear five or ten acres and erect a log cabin dwelling. Then all effort was directed toward making a home and living in the little clearing in the wilderness. The fields were fertile, but the root-choked, heavy soil was hard to plow, hoe, and harrow. Moreover, even after the crops, including corn, a little wheat, flax, and garden stuff, were gathered, and the hogs slaughtered and salted, there remained the never-ending grubbing of stumps and roots from previously cleared ground, the enlargement of the clearing, fencing, and the chopping of wood for the cabin fireplace. The wife's task was hard and heavy, too. To her fell not only the cooking, washing, cleaning, mending, churning, and the bearing and care of children, familiar to the farmer's wife of a later day, but also the continuous round of clothmaking and sewing for the entire family. Home-grown wool and flax, and cotton from the South were put into her hands to be spun and woven for the family's clothing. From early morning through the after-supper hours her hands were never idle.¹

¹ A good account of the daily lives and the farm and household equipment of the Whitewater pioneer is given in [Wasson, John Macamy] *Annals of Pioneer Settlers of the Whitewater and Its Tributaries in the Vicinity of Richmond, Ind., 1804-1830* (Richmond, Ind., 1875), and in Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*. An exceptionally detailed contemporary account of life in a newly settled region of Indiana is contained in a letter of June 22, 1846, from Johann Wolfgang Schreyer, of Marshall County in northern Indiana, to relatives in Bavaria, edited by Donald F. Carmony and published in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, XL(1944), 283-302. The Marshall County region had been only recently settled when this letter was written, and conditions described by Schreyer were probably similar to those of a generation earlier on the Upper Whitewater.

All these tasks were daily routine for Rebecca Julian, wife of Isaac Julian, of Centerville, and sister of David Hoover, but she performed them with courage, spirit, and humor. While the days of these pioneer women must have been confined and lonely, Mrs. Julian's letter describing life on the Twelve Mile Purchase from 1810 to 1814, does not indicate it. "There were many and serious trials in the beginning of this country with those who settled amid the heavy timber, having nothing to depend on for a living but their own industry. . . . However, we were blest with health and strength, and were able to accomplish all that was necessary to be done. . . . We had first-rate times, just such as hard-laboring men and women can appreciate. We were not what would now be called fashionable cooks; we had no pound cakes, preserves, or jellies; but the substantials, prepared in plain, honest, old-fashioned style. This is one reason why we were so blessed with health—we had none of your dainties, nicknacks, and many fixings that are worse than nothing. There are many diseases that we never even heard of thirty or forty years ago, such as dyspepsia, neuralgia, and many others too tedious to mention. It was not *fashionable* at that time to be weakly. We could take our spinning-wheels and walk two miles to a spinning frolic, do our day's work, and, after a first-rate supper, join in some innocent amusement for the evening. We did not take very particular pains to keep our hands white; we knew they were made to use to our advantage; therefore we never thought of having hands just to look at. Each settler had to go and assist his neighbors ten or fifteen days, or thereabouts, in order to get help again in log-rolling time—this was the only way to get assistance."²

The year 1811 was an eventful one on the Whitewater. There were heavy floods followed by an extraordinary amount of malaria, a comet shone in portentous splendor, earthquakes

² Quoted in Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, pp. 66-67. The accounts of the early days in *History of Wayne County, Indiana, together with Sketches of Its Cities* . . . (2 volumes. Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1884), and Fox, Henry Clay (ed.), *Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond Indiana* . . . (2 volumes. Madison, Wis., 1912), add relatively little of value to Young's admirable volume.

shook the ground, hordes of red squirrels marched relentlessly to the South. The next year came the War of 1812 which temporarily checked the flow of immigrants into the White-water country.

The Indian menace to the Whitewater settlers was much less than in some other regions, but they were not completely spared. We have seen how uneasy, in 1805, the Indians made the lives of Joseph Cox and his wife, and the reverberations of the Battle of Tippecanoe brought serious threats of hostility to the valley. "We were in fine spirits," wrote Mrs. Julian, "until the battle was fought . . . by General Harrison and the Indians. After that, we lived in continual fear, and passed many sleepless nights. . . . At length the time arrived when two men were stationed at our fort³ for our protection. My husband also enlisted and served three months as a soldier, but was not called out from the fort. We were truly thankful that there was no fighting to be done, as we were then few in number, and completely in the power of the enemy. . . . In the spring [of 1813] . . . Charles Morgan and his two half-brothers were killed at their sugar-camp, scalped, and one of them thrown into the fire. This happened about six miles from our residence. This was quite alarming; we knew not what to do; we gathered ourselves in small groups in order to hold counsel. Finally, we concluded to leave our new homes; which we did, time after time for the space of two years."⁴

³ During the War of 1812 the terrified peoples of the various settlements erected a chain of fortifications for their protection. "These forts, or stockades, were made of two rows of split timbers, some twelve or fourteen feet long, planted firmly in the ground, inclosing more or less ground, as the necessity demanded. There were large gates, made of hewn timbers of from three to six inches in thickness. Small cabins were erected inside the stockades for the accommodation of the families. Usually one block-house was built in each fort. These block-houses were two stories high, the upper story projecting over the lower, say two feet, with port-holes in the floor of the projection, so that the men could see to shoot the Indians if they succeeded in getting to the walls of the block-house. There were likewise port-holes in the walls in the upper and lower stories, through which shooting of much execution could be performed as the foe was advancing." Smith, William C., *Indiana Miscellany* . . . (Cincinnati, 1867), pp. 76-77.

⁴ Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, p. 66.

The War of 1812 was particularly distressing to the Friends on the Whitewater because of their scruples against military service. A few Quakers who were among those drafted to form a company to join General Hull in Dayton refused to march or furnish substitutes, with the result that their property was seized and sold. Henry Hoover, a staunch Quaker, suffered similar treatment. In his memoir he relates that he was ordered to perform an eight-day tour and refused.⁵ "Being then a member of the *society*," he wrote, "a compliance, would have ejected me from the Church, and moreover brought trouble on the minds of my Parents, who had taught me that all wars were antichristian. . . . A Court Martial adjudged a fine of sixteen dollars against me, and a sergeant, drove off my sheep and sold them. Others, were used more severe,—not having property on which to levy, their bodies were seized and cast into the jail in Salisbury, in the dead of Winter. Here D. F. Sackett acquired to himself honors. . . . The jail had neither chimney, stove or Bed, but Dr. Sackett carried, and handed through the grates hot Brick and Coffee, bed clothes &c. to keep the prisoners from freezing. They were for weeks confined in jail, but were ultimately discharged, but not until public opinion had begun to do its work of Mercy. . . . the years, 1813-14, were the reign of terror in Wayne County."

With the American victory over the British and the Indians at the Battle of the Thames in 1813, Indian danger subsided and the peaceful and busy life of the frontier was resumed. Besides being spared, with the exception of these few months in 1812 and 1813, the fear of sudden death, torture, or kidnaping at the hands of the red men, which had haunted and would haunt the frontier families of other regions, the Whitewater settlers were fortunate in other ways. The grasshoppers, cyclones, and blizzards which frequently made pioneer life on the great plains a hell on earth, were almost unknown to the Whitewater. Even the famous Ohio Valley earthquakes of

⁵ Hoover, Henry, "Sketches and Incidents, embracing a period of 50 years." Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library; original manuscript in possession of Jack Thomas, Des Moines, Iowa.

1811 and 1812 seem to have had no effect beyond securing converts for the Methodist exhorters.

Although the life of the pioneer farmer was on the whole self-sufficient, certain commodities, including finer kinds of dry goods, salt, hardware, and medicines, had to be purchased, and a store would be opened, usually close to a mill. When sufficient demand arose, a blacksmith, shoemaker, hatter, and cabinetmaker might set up shop close by.

Roads of a sort were pushed eastward and southward to join the roads from Hamilton and Cincinnati, and over these bumpy highways the meager commerce made its way in home-made wagons pulled by teams of four to six horses.⁶ The teamsters would camp out in the summer and put up at houses of entertainment in the winter, for the trip was a matter of several days. Branson Harris made several of these excursions between his father's farm on Greens Fork and Cincinnati. On one, due to a round of thawing, terrific mud, and freezing weather, the return trip required a full ten days and was enough to dampen any enthusiasm the young man had had for teaming.⁷ Small wonder that Indiana's program for internal improvements was to be urged and supported so enthusiastically in the region.

Regular attendance at Sunday church services was part of the busy life of the frontier and a diversion from the hard everyday routine. The first Methodist chapel was erected in 1808, four miles south of Richmond. In the fall of 1806 the Friends held meetings in the cabin of Jeremiah Cox. Two years later a log meetinghouse, 24 feet square, was built about a mile and a half northeast of Richmond. New meetings were held at other places in the Upper Valley, and when congregations became large enough, meetinghouses were erected.

Unlike the New England churches, the Friends meeting-

⁶ From scattered hints I get the impression that the road most used was the Hamilton, Fairhaven, and Richmond Pike, which ran northwest from Hamilton, Ohio, by way of Darrrtown and Fairhaven, Ohio, to Boston, Indiana, thence along the present route of the Boston Pike into Richmond. There is considerable material about the macadamizing of this road during the 1840's in Alta Harvey Heiser's *Hamilton in the Making* (Oxford, Ohio, 1941), pp. 122-39.

⁷ Harris, *Some Recollections of My Boyhood*, pp. 51-55.

houses were not situated beside the village store, tavern, and blacksmith shop. The Friends preferred a quiet wooded spot, perhaps a grove of sugar maples, well removed from business and habitation. Coming by horseback, wagon, or on foot, they would gather there in their bonnets and round hats for the devotion and fellowship described so exquisitely by Charles Lamb: "Reader, would'st thou know what true peace and quiet mean; would'st thou find a refuge from the noises and clamours of the multitude; would'st thou enjoy at once solitude and society; . . . would'st thou be alone and yet accompanied; solitary, yet not desolate; singular, yet not without some to keep thee in countenance; a unit in aggregate; a simple in composite:—come with me into a Quakers' meeting." "Their garb and stillness conjoined, present a uniformity, tranquil and herd-like—as in the pasture—'forty feeding like one.'"

But they were not so pious that they turned away from good times. Mrs. Julian pictured a very hard-working but a happy society. Probably the biggest social events were the weddings and the infares or receptions which followed. Branson Harris declared that there was no gathering of young people that he liked to go to so much as a wedding. In his *Recollections* he describes the celebration of his own marriage to Miss Martha Young on September 19, 1839. The simple ceremony was followed by a wedding dinner, "a pleasant party full of joy and delight." The next day he and his bride and all the young guests set out for his father's house for the infare. "When we got within about three-fourths of a mile of father's home," he wrote, "two young men on horseback met us . . . with a bottle of sweet wine. They called us to a halt. The bottle was passed around; then they escorted us on to my father's. . . . There father and mother met us at the door and took my wife and me by the hand and welcomed us to their home, and invited us to come in. . . . We soon were taken out to dinner, where all first partook of the wine, then sat down to a table well loaded. . . . When dinner was over and the

dishes washed and put away, the young people spent the balance of the day in sport and amusement.”⁸

The domestic establishment of the young Harris couple was simple, but quite complete. “We had two beds and bedding,” Harris recalled, “two sets of knives and forks, one set of table spoons, one set of teacups and saucers and a pitcher, a few bowls, a pepper box, and a few dishes. We had no cupboard, We had a table and a bureau, and a dash churn, and a washboard and a kettle to heat water in, an oven and a skillet, and a stew kettle to hang over the fire to boil our meat and cabbage, potatoes, and roasting ears, and beans. We had an iron tea kettle. We lived in a small low cabin eighteen by twenty feet square, stick and clay chimney, a clapboard roof, poles for joists, and some rough boards laid overhead on the joists. The floor was laid down loose, not nailed. Doors hung on wooden hinges, wooden latch and a six-light glass window. An open curbed well in the yard. We drew water with a well sweep, a bucket hung to the end of a pole.”⁹

While the population of the valley grew and prospered, it continued to show evidence of its border position. It remained for some years a frontier society marked by inevitable crudeness and some ignorance and superstition, yet resourceful in the manner of living. Among the large party of Indians which encamped on the East Fork in 1816 there was a celebrated doctor who believed himself possessed of great healing power and was invited to try his skill on a poor white woman in the last stages of consumption. His method was to heat three or four stones piping hot and place them and the woman under a tent of heavy blankets. He would then reach in and pour cupfuls of water on the stones, so that clouds of steam would rise and surround the poor patient. All of this was done to an accompaniment of mutterings of magic words. The result

⁸ Harris, *Some Recollections of My Boyhood*, pp. 67-69. What the “sport and amusement” on the Whitewater were in those days the record does not say. Cards and dancing were, of course, taboo among the Friends and Methodists.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

of the "cure" was that the patient almost suffocated and was saved only by intervention of her husband.¹⁰

Violent as such ministrations seem they do not appear much less scientific than the methods used for cures by the pioneer white doctors. In a Whitewater community the doctor was likely to be a busy man, for death and serious illness were more frequent visitors in proportion to the population than now. "Consumption," a term which was employed to cover all forms of serious respiratory diseases, took the greatest toll, as it continued to do for more than a century. The most terrifying disease was the milk sickness, the victim of which, adult or child, would suddenly feel intense fatigue, followed by a violent attack of vomiting. The tongue became red and dry, and so enlarged that the sufferer could neither eat nor drink, while his body exuded a sickeningly sweet odor. After a period of convulsions and coma, death frequently ensued. The early settlers knew (as the name they gave the disease indicates) that the sickness came from affected milk, but they had not learned, as we now know, that the milk was poisoned by the cows eating white snakeroot and rayless goldenrod when more tempting pasturage was sparse. Malaria, called variously autumnal, remittent, intermittent or swamp fever, chills and fever. and ague, took heavy toll in the valley.

The methods employed by the pioneer doctors to heal the victims of these various ravages must have been almost worse than the diseases themselves. Dr. Joel Pennington, the first doctor at Milton on West Fork, described a treatment given a patient suffering from "remittent fever." "We seated the patient on the side of the bed . . . opened a vein in his arm by making as large an orifice as practicable, and allowed the blood to flow until his pulse became soft and less resisting, or until syncope [fainting] supervened. . . . our object being to produce a decided impression upon the heart's action. Our patient being in a sitting posture and the blood escaping from a free opening, it did not require a great length of time to

¹⁰ "Old Settlers of Wayne County," No. 15, in *Richmond Palladium*, December 21, 1860. Typewritten copy in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

produce the desired effect. . . . Now, if the indications seemed to require it, we directed an emetic to be given, usually composed of tartarized antimony and ipecac combined, or wine of antimony. After free emesis and the sickness had subsided, if thought necessary, we gave a brisk cathartic, usually containing more or less calomel. . . . We used no manner of temporizing treatment, but aimed our agents directly at the extermination of diseases."¹¹

Such methods might suggest that the pioneer doctors were nothing more than charlatans. But there is ample evidence to show that, however misguided, they were among the most conscientious and trusted members of the community. Again and again, the letters and reminiscences of the White-water pioneers mention Dr. Ithamar Warner, Dr. James R. Mendenhall, Dr. William Pugh, Dr. David F. Sackett, and Dr. Pennington, himself, with high respect. If the cause of consumption, malaria, the milk sickness, and other afflictions remained a mystery and the treatments were overheroic, the fault lay in the general deficiency of medical knowledge and education, and not in a lack of good faith in the early White-water doctors.

¹¹ Kemper, G. W. H., *A Medical History of the State of Indiana* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 35-36.

EARLY GOVERNMENT AND GROWTH

THE STORY of the establishment of government in the Whitewater Valley parallels that of other sections of Indiana. As the population increased new counties were formed.¹ In 1810 the Whitewater region was cut off from Dearborn and Clark counties and two new counties were organized, Franklin on the Lower and Wayne on the Upper Whitewater. Brookville, the principal village of the valley, was located near the center of Franklin County, and was the obvious choice for the county seat, but the matter was not so easily disposed of in the case of Wayne. In fact, a far from Quakerlike attitude developed among the residents of this reputedly peaceful and peace-loving county.

Richmond or Cox's Settlement, as it was then called, the only settlement resembling a village in Wayne County at the time, was too far from the center of the county to be selected for the seat of justice. The deplorable conditions of the roads demanded a more central spot and commissioners were appointed to select an appropriate location. The site chosen and called Salisbury is thus glowingly described in its plat: "The Town of Salisbury stands on a beautiful site on the waters of Clear Creek. . . . in a fine neighborhood, environed by rich land, &., &. No better water in the world—the air salubrious, and its elevated situation commands an extensive and beautiful prospect. And we flatter ourselves that in a few years, Art, with her sister Industry, will convert it from a forest to a flourishing inland Town. Several gentlemen of property have purchased Lots, both in the mercantile and mechanical line, which will greatly enhance its importance."²

A temporary log courthouse was erected, but soon a brick one replaced it. A log jail and an estray pen completed the

¹ For the history of the development of the present boundaries of the various Whitewater counties see Pence, George, and Armstrong, Nellie C., *Indiana Boundaries. Territory, State, and County* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XIX, Indianapolis, 1933).

² Quoted in Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 11, 1843.

public buildings. Salisbury, however, was fated never to shine. Despite all the rosy plans for its future and the ambitions of its citizens, it failed to progress. At its peak it may have had between five and six hundred inhabitants, but never more. And not far away a rival grew to challenge its position.

In 1814 the town of Centerville was platted and lots were sold. In almost no time at all there were signs that this would be a thriving community, and its citizens looked covetously at the official status of little Salisbury. Thus the struggle commenced that would swell the hearts of citizens of Wayne with bitterness for several years to come.

In 1816 the Centerville party succeeded in persuading the General Assembly to pass an act removing the seat of justice to Centerville, but with this provision: that the trustees of the town of Centerville should cause to be erected in their town without expense to the county, a courthouse, jail, and estray pen, all to be of the same dimensions and as well built as those in Salisbury. These were to be completed by August, 1817.

In order to comply with these stipulations a committee of Centerville citizens was appointed to examine the buildings in Salisbury. As one account relates, "the Citizens of . . . [Salisbury] getting word of what was intended, determined that the public buildings of their town should not be examined; and therefore, when the committee came to make the examination, Salisbury was in arms; and, as the people of Salisbury were fighting on their own ground, and being more numerous than the other party the best the committee could do towards accomplishing the object of their visit, was, at a respectful distance, to count the rows of brick in the walls of the Court House, and take a bird's eye view of the dimensions of the Estray Pen and log Jail."³

Though thus handicapped, the trustees of Centerville apparently met the requirements of the act. The last court held in Salisbury met on October 13, 1817. During the next couple of years the question of which town was really the seat of justice was under some dispute, but Centerville won out

³ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 11 and 18, 1843.



RICHMOND, INDIANA, ABOUT 1850
by Lefevre J. Cranstone

and served as county seat until 1873 when the seat was moved to Richmond.

Defeated, Salisbury rapidly declined. On January 12, 1817, Dr. Ithamar Warner, late of New York State, wrote from "Salisbury Ia,"⁴ that the village was "an illiterate, uncultivated and disagreeable place . . . no society of any sort to associate with except the rabble at the inn. True," he said, "there is some respectable people and fashionable citizens, but their manners and customs are very different from the people at the eastwards."⁵ A few years later the Centerville paper reported, probably with a bit of malicious glee, that the brick courthouse and log jail at Salisbury had "in the mutations of time, with some decrease in size . . . been constructed into a place to keep horses, instead of prisoners."⁶ Antiquarians now must classify Salisbury among Indiana's lost towns.

In 1818 the northern part of Wayne County was organized as Randolph County, and in 1818 and 1821 land was detached from Wayne and Franklin to form two mid-Whitewater counties, Fayette to the west and Union to the east.⁷ Winchester was named the seat of justice for Randolph, Connersville for Fayette, and Liberty, birthplace of General Ambrose E. Burnside and Joaquin Miller, for Union.

Liberty is not the only village on the Whitewater which can boast of having been the birthplace of distinguished men in its early days. Down at Fairfield in Franklin County were born Charles N. Sims who became Chancellor of Syracuse University, James Maurice Thompson, poet and author of *Alice of Old Vincennes*, and Ida Husted Harper, well-known feminist. Brookville's list includes John P. St. John, presidential nominee of the Prohibition Party in its heyday, Edwin H. Terrell, diplomat, and the versatile Lew Wallace. William W. Morrow, eminent judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, was born near Milton; Philip N. Moore, mining

⁴"Ia." was the accepted abbreviation for Indiana until the eighteen forties when "Ind." came to be used—"Ia." being reserved, as now, for Iowa.

⁵Quoted in *Richmond Palladium*, January 1, 1931, section 3, p. 1.

⁶Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 11, 1843.

⁷The Whitewater drains parts of several other Indiana counties—Henry, Rush, Decatur, Ripley, and Dearborn—and the eastern portion of four western Ohio counties—Darke, Preble, Butler, and Hamilton.

engineer, at Connersville; General Francis A. Shoup, Confederate artillery leader, at Laurel; and William Penn Nixon, editor of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, at Fountain City.⁸

The fact that Oliver Perry Morton, Indiana's great Civil War governor, was born in little Salisbury will keep the name of that village alive on our historical records. But Centerville encroaches on this claim to fame, for Morton soon moved there. It was also at Centerville that George W. Julian, grandson of Andrew Hoover and famous Congressman from Indiana, was born. Julian, elected to Congress on the Free-Soil ticket from the Whitewater district in 1848, became one of the Civil War leaders of the radical wing of the Republican party in Congress and was a prime mover in the adoption of the Homestead Act in 1862.

In 1843 the *Wayne County Record* published at Centerville, came out with a series of articles on Wayne County towns. From these we learn that Centerville's population, increasing after it became the county seat, was by 1843 nearing the thousand mark, and that its society was "good and intelligent—its citizens moral" and that "by far the largest proportion of them belong[ed] to some one of the different Religious denominations of the place." It could boast an incorporated Musical Institute, the musical instruments of which were valued at \$500, and its mercantile and manufacturing investments amounted to \$87,000.⁹

Despite Centerville's progress, Richmond was the queen of the county. On March 6, 1824, the Richmond *Public Leger* boasted: "The town now contains, by the census taken this week, 453 inhabitants, principally mechanics. . . . 8 Dry Goods Stores, 3 large and respectable Taverns, a Post Office, a Printing Office. . . . 7 blacksmiths, 4 hatters, 4 cabinet-makers, 6 shoe-makers, 3 tailors, 3 coopers, 3 potters, 1 gunsmith, 1 saddler, 1 pump-maker, 1 bake shop, . . . a steam distillery, besides a large number of carpenters, brick and stone

⁸ Biographical sketches of those mentioned are included in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (volumes 1-20. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928-1936).

⁹ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 25, 1843.

masons, plasterers, &c.—of professional men there are but two—physicians; of lawyers we have NOT ONE, although every other town in the state abounds with them.¹⁰

“Within two miles of the town there are 8 saw mills, 3 grist mills, 2 fulling mills, 4 wool carding machines, 2 oil mills, and 1 extensive woollen manufactory; . . .”

A week later the following were added to the list: “1 silver-smith, 1 coverlid and diaper weaver, 1 last maker, 1 painter, 1 brewery, 3 large tan yards. . . .”¹¹

By 1840 Richmond's population was 2,070. Centerville acknowledged the town's pre-eminent position, and the *Wayne County Record*, in its 1843 series, praised the “handsome streets, beautiful private residences, splendid hotels and public buildings,” and declared that Richmond exhibited “more taste, beauty and ornament, than any other Town in the County, and probably, in this respect,” had “but few rivals in the State.” It acclaimed its industry and noted that “Richmond is probably in advance of any Town in the State in the manufacture of Silk. Two Silk Factories are now in operation there, at which the lovers of *Home Industry* can be suited with the best Silk for Ladies' Dresses, Gentlemen's Vests, Handkerchiefs, &c. During the last Summer, a large number of Silk Worms have been successfully fed in Richmond and vicinity. One of the Cocooneries, belonging to Mr Tillinghast, is perhaps the largest, and on the best model, of any West of the Mountains.”¹²

This continuing leadership is attributable in large part to Richmond's superior water power. Another important factor

¹⁰ Centerville, seat of the county court, of course, had lawyers; but the paucity of appealed cases from the Upper Whitewater counties reported in the early volumes of the *Indiana Supreme Court Reports* indicates that there was relatively little litigation in this region before the railroads came.

¹¹ *Richmond Public Leger*, March 6 and 13, 1824. A post office was established at Richmond in 1818, with Robert Morrisson, a leading merchant, as postmaster. The first newspaper was the *Richmond Weekly Intelligencer*, established in 1821. The *Richmond Public Leger* (later *Ledger*) and Centerville's first newspaper, the *Western Emporium*, were both launched in 1824. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, pp. 90, 92, 142.

¹² Centerville *Wayne County Record*, November 1, 1843.

was that the village's name and attraction had become known to Friends in every part of the country. As Addison Coffin, of the distinguished North Carolina Quaker family whose name looms so large in this book, tells in his *Life and Travels*: "I arrived [in 1843] in sight of Richmond, . . . dusty and worn, but the sight seemed to reanimate my weary body. 'Richmond, Indiana,' I had been taught from childhood was the great center of Carolina emigration, and the Jerusalem of Quakerism for all the northwest, and at last I had lived to see it in all its quiet sunset beauty."¹³

¹³ *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin Written by Himself* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1897), p. 55.

WHITEWATER FRIENDS MEETING

IN HIS journal for 1672 the Englishman, John Burnyeat, wrote: "I committed them [the Virginia Friends] unto the Lord, and the Word of his Grace, and so took Boat again for *Maryland*. . . . And in the *2d Month* I appointed a Meeting at *West-River* in *Maryland*, for all the Friends in the Province. . . . And we had a very large Meeting . . . for the settling of Things, that *Men-* and *Women-Meetings* might be established in the Province. . . . And then when all was over, and we all clear, and all sweet and pleasant among Friends, we departed. . . ."¹

The meeting thus established became the Baltimore Yearly Meeting (synod), one of the largest and most influential bodies of Friends in the United States. When Friends settled in Ohio at the turn of the century, they affiliated themselves with this Yearly Meeting, a flourishing branch of which, Miami Quarterly Meeting, was established in western Ohio. In 1807 the most westerly subdivision of this latter body—West Branch Monthly Meeting—granted a so-called "indulged" meeting for worship to the small group of Friends at Cox's Settlement across the Indiana border. A log meetinghouse was built a half mile northeast of the settlement (near present Tenth and North G streets in Richmond), and by 1809, this new meeting had so increased in size that Miami Quarterly Meeting conferred on it the dignity of an "established" body—Whitewater Monthly Meeting.

According to Eli Jay, devoted student of Friends' history, almost eight hundred Friends, mainly from Cane Creek and Back Creek, North Carolina, Cane Creek, South Carolina, and Mount Pleasant, Virginia, were received by Whitewater Monthly Meeting from 1809 until 1812, when the Indian

¹ "An Account of John Burnyeat's Convincement: Together with a Journal of his Travels," in *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burnyeat* . . . (London: Thomas Northcott, 1691), pp. 43-44.

troubles incident to the War of 1812 temporarily put a stop to further immigration to the Upper Whitewater.² Another settlement of Friends at Newport (now Fountain City), Indiana, a few miles to the northward of Cox's Settlement had so increased by 1815 as likewise to attain the status of a Monthly Meeting, under the name of New Garden Monthly Meeting, which later became notable for its leadership in the antislavery movement.

In 1812 Baltimore Yearly Meeting sanctioned the establishment of an independent Yearly Meeting of western Friends, the Ohio Yearly Meeting, and in 1817, the year after Indiana's admission to statehood, Ohio Yearly Meeting authorized the Indiana Friends to have their own Quarterly Meeting. Four years later this Quarterly Meeting had become so large and important that the Ohio Yearly Meeting authorized the establishment of an independent Yearly Meeting of far western Friends—Indiana Yearly Meeting—with headquarters at Whitewater Meetinghouse. Construction of a large brick meetinghouse, near the old log one, to accommodate the annual influx of visitors to the Yearly Meeting was begun the next year, and, when completed in 1829, was regarded as one of the sights of the West, worth traveling many a mile to see. From 1821 until the creation of Western Yearly Meeting in 1858, Indiana Yearly Meeting, with headquarters at Richmond, extended from the Great Miami to the Pacific.³

The organization of the Friends groups into Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings was extremely effective in knitting together the congregations within each Yearly Meeting, but there was no organization of the church as a whole. Each congregation was kept in occasional touch with those outside its

² Jay, Eli, "Whitewater Monthly Meeting from 1809 to 1828," in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909), p. 36.

³ A list of the voluminous record books of Whitewater Monthly Meeting going back to 1809 is given in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, p. 78. The former custom of Friends of having no markers on the graves of their dead is fortunately compensated for by the care taken in Friends meetings to make and preserve meticulously records relating to the members of the meeting.



INDIANA YEARLY OF FRIENDS 1844.

particular Yearly Meeting by letters from London and other distant meetings, but the main bond was through unpaid, itinerant ministers who traveled from meeting to meeting, without reference to the boundaries of any particular Yearly Meeting. Through the journals of these roving preachers—for a journal seems to have been as essential a part of their equipment as a strong constitution—we get some early glimpses of the Friends' meetings and settlements on the Whitewater.

An early visitor to the valley was William Williams of Lost Creek, Tennessee. On July 15, 1807, he records in his *Journal* that he "rode to White-Water, to the house of Jeremiah Cox, in the territory of Indiana. This was a new settlement, where a few families of Friends who live together, have requested a meeting: had a meeting there next day. This was a time of deep travail of soul, and large gospel service: some in this place being too whole in their own minds, to know that they have need of a physician to heal them."⁴

Williams' first stay was short, but in 1811 he paid Whitewater Meeting a longer visit. On this occasion he found it necessary "to speak close to the professors of truth, and to warn them against settling down in formality, without the life." He also had a "small, yet highly favoured meeting at Silver-creek," a stream flowing into the Whitewater about midway between Brookville and Richmond.⁵

In 1814 Williams decided that it would be to the advantage of his family to move to Indiana, and, as he said "on feeling after it," he found that he had the "liberty of the Master . . . to pursue the undertaking." He and his family left their home in Tennessee in March and arrived on the Elkhorn fork of

⁴ *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams* . . . (Cincinnati, 1828), pp. 40-41. According to a letter of October 20, 1855, from David Hoover to Charles F. Coffin, in the Earlham College Library, John Simpson, a well-known Friends minister, had had a meeting here some time prior to Williams' visit.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11. Silver Creek Meeting in present Union County was organized in 1809. Its name was changed to Salem in 1834. This and similar information in succeeding footnotes is from Jay, "Whitewater Monthly Meeting from 1809 to 1828," in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, pp. 39-42.

Whitewater after nineteen days of travel, "where," wrote Williams, "we have settled ourselves down in the woods, and feel satisfied in mind. We are four miles from White Water Monthly meeting, of which we are members, and two miles from our meeting for worship."⁶ Two years later he and his family moved to Richmond.⁷

A more romantic and glamorous figure was the French exile Stephen Grellet, who, as previously noted, came to the Upper Whitewater in 1809 at the time Edward Bond was visiting his sons. In August Grellet recorded in the diary later published in his *Memoirs*, "I set off [from Waynesville, Ohio] . . . for the Whitewater, Silver Creek, &c . . . I have attended three meetings and ridden one hundred and forty-five miles, most of it over bad roads, or rather Indian paths, through an uninhabited country from one settlement to another. One afternoon we had not even an Indian path to direct our course. . . . Before sun-rise the next morning we were again on our horses, and yet we did not reach the meeting-house at West Branch till after the meeting had been sitting, at least, half an hour. It was a memorable meeting, well worth all the toil endured to reach it. The day before, I had been at Whitewater, in Indiana, the only meeting of Friends in that State. The last days have been attended with more bodily fatigue than I ever remember to have experienced, having very little food, and sometimes being obliged to chew the bark of wood for a meal; but, under all, my spirit has praised and magnified the Lord, my Saviour and never failing Helper."⁸

In the fall of 1837, after long years of travel, which took him four times to Europe as well as over the United States, Grellet returned briefly to the Whitewater, where he attended several meetings that brought "sweet peace."⁹ Joseph John Gurney, a distinguished English Friend, was, as we shall

⁶ *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams*, pp. 171-72. This meeting, six miles south of Richmond, was indulged in 1814 and established under the name of Orange in 1819.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁸ *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Stephen Grellet* (Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 155.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 902.

see, in Richmond at the same time, making this one of the most notable occasions in the history of Whitewater Meeting.

William Forster, a much loved English Friend, visited the Whitewater country in January, 1822. After ministering to the settlements in south-central Indiana, he came to the valley, attending meetings at West Union and West Grove.¹⁰ He and his party then proceeded to Richmond, whither he hastened with the hope of finding mail from home. "But," says he in his *Memoirs*, "there was not a single English letter for me. I endeavoured to bear up, but it was a disappointment deeply felt." The party stopped at Jesse Williams' cabin, "a place of true rest," and attended meeting at Chester.¹¹ Proceeding to first day meeting at Whitewater Meeting near Richmond he wrote, "This is one of the largest meetings in the state, containing, I suppose, not less than 120 or 130 families, forty of whom live in Richmond, which is a thriving village, finely situated on a high bank above the Whitewater river. Apprehending it might be safest to express a little respecting a right exercise of the mind on such occasions, I uttered a few sentences . . . and was enabled to offer a word for the consolation of some weary and tribulated pilgrims. . . ." ¹²

Forster returned to the Whitewater in 1845 as a member of the delegation sent by the London Yearly Meeting of Friends to urge the Anti-Slavery Friends who had withdrawn from the Indiana Yearly Meeting to unite again with the main body. His brother Josiah Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen were with him. The committee delivered their message, visited the western outposts of the society, and returned to England, having fulfilled their assignment, but without gaining their end, for the Anti-Slavery Friends continued to hold their separate meetings for eleven more years.¹³

As the center of western Quakerdom, Whitewater Meeting

¹⁰ West Union, near Greens Fork, was organized in 1816; West Grove, on Nolands Fork, three miles northwest of Centerville, was established in 1814.

¹¹ Chester Meeting, five miles northwest of Richmond, was organized in 1822.

¹² *Memoirs of William Forster*, edited by Benjamin Seebohm (2 volumes. London, 1865), I, 349-50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 193 ff.; *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, pp. 234-39.

likewise attracted the greatest of all the itinerant Friends' ministers, Elias Hicks, of Westbury Meeting, Long Island, New York. He came to the Whitewater in 1828, the year following the beginning of the great Friends schism arising out of his teachings. In October he recorded in his journal,¹⁴ "From Eaton . . . we rode to Richmond, where those called Orthodox were holding their yearly meeting; and as this day was the time for holding a meeting for worship, notice was given of our intention of being there. It was very large, and proved, through adorable condescension, a solemn heart-tendering season, in which truth reigned over all.

"The three following days we attended meetings by our appointment, at Centreville, West Union and Milford.¹⁵ After this we returned again to Richmond, in order, agreeably to appointment, to attend their first day meeting. It was large like the former; a multitude of people assembled; and was a precious meeting, in which truth was triumphant, and ran as oil over the assembly, breaking down all opposition, and melting a great portion of the assembly into tears of contrition. Surely it was the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes; and to him belongeth all the praise, who is over all, blessed for ever.

"We parted from them with solid satisfaction, and peace of mind. . . . the following day attended a meeting, by our appointment, at a place called the Ridge;¹⁶ it was a comfortable opportunity. The next day we attended a meeting at Orange. Here those called Orthodox made great disturbance, and hurt the meeting very considerably. The day after, we had a meeting at a place called Silver Creek. This was a precious meeting, in which truth reigned over all."

Many of the Friends on Whitewater, as elsewhere, were overpoweringly impressed by Hicks's manliness, his sincerity

¹⁴ *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks. Written by Himself* (3d ed. New York, 1832), pp. 417-18.

¹⁵ Milford Meeting, near Milton on the West Branch of the Whitewater, established by New Garden Meeting, was one of the most flourishing meetings on the Whitewater.

¹⁶ Ridge Meeting, three miles east of Richmond, was organized in 1820. It became one of the Hicksite meetings at the time of the "Separation" in 1828.

and the force of his message, beautifully stated in the following passage from his *Journal*: "Soon after I took my seat in our meeting to-day, my mind was opened into a view of the great need man stands in of a Saviour, . . . one, who is [not only] continually present, but who is possessed of a prescience sufficient to see, at all times, all man's enemies, and every temptation that may or can await him; and have power sufficient to defend him from all, and at all times. Therefore, such a Saviour as man wants, cannot be one without him, but must be one that is always present, just . . . in the very temple of the heart . . . hence, for man to look for a Saviour or salvation any where else, than in the very centre of his own soul, is a fatal mistake, and must consequently land him in disappointment and error."

"I was led forth to communicate largely to the people on this subject; and on the blessed effects that do, and will result to all those who find such a Saviour, and who, in humility and sincerity of heart, follow him faithfully in the way of his leadings."¹⁷

Though Hicks's message was that of George Fox himself, many Friends, presumably through the influence of the surrounding evangelical churches, had come to regard the symbolism of Christ's crucifixion, no less than His presence in man's heart, as of the essence of Christianity. When the followers of Hicks declined to repudiate his teachings, they were read out of meeting, creating a bitter and tumultuous schism, which was not healed for over a century.

The last of these visitors that we shall mention is Joseph John Gurney, who came to the United States from England in 1837. His presence had a vitalizing influence on the congregations suffering under the Hicksite separation and gave impetus to education and Bible study.

On October 2, 1837, Gurney was at Richmond. "The Yearly Meeting," he wrote, "in its larger assembly, meets this morning. . . . The journey hither from Zanesville very interesting in parts; the great Western road, almost crowded with movers in that direction. . . . we arrived here at the

¹⁷ *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks*, p. 304.

peaceful abode of Elijah Coffin, on sixth day. . . . We had a vast assembly in the morning, and a public meeting, by my appointment, in the evening. . . . It is a comfort indeed to be again with my beloved friend S. Grellet."¹⁸

He gave further details of his visit to the Whitewater in a letter which he wrote to Mrs. Amelia Opie.¹⁹ "Never, to the best of my knowledge," he wrote, "have I witnessed so remarkable an assemblage of people, as that which was convened for public worship, at Richmond, on the commencement of the Yearly Meeting for Indiana—Friends and others, arriving on horseback, or in the grotesque carriages of the country, almost without end. The horses, hitched to nearly every tree of the wood which surrounded the vast red-brick meeting-house, formed in themselves a curious spectacle."²⁰ It was supposed that about 3000 people were accommodated within the walls; and nearly as many, unable to obtain a place in the house, were promenading by the hour together on the premises. It is the constant custom of the people in the surrounding country, to attend the 'Quaker's Meeting' on this particular occasion . . . [for] the opportunity . . . of walking and talking with their neighbours. It was however, for those within, a time of great solemnity and refreshment.

"On the following morning we proceeded to the business of the church. All strangers had now withdrawn; the great shutters which divide the house in two, were let down; the one compartment was filled by the men—the other by the women. . . . The Friends who had assembled on the present occasion had many of them come from great distances; some from the state of Ohio, others from the extreme west of Indiana, others again from Illinois. The whole population

¹⁸ *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney* . . . edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (2 volumes. 4th ed. Philadelphia, 1854), II, 103-4.

¹⁹ Gurney, Joseph John, *A Journey in North America Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich, England, 1841), pp. 36-37.

²⁰ This famous structure remained in constant use until 1878, when the present Whitewater Meetinghouse at Sixteenth and Main streets, Richmond, was constructed. It stood unused but structurally sound until 1922, when it was razed to permit the enlargement of an adjacent coal and builders' supply business.

of Friends, within the limits of this yearly meeting, is about 30,000."

So great was Gurney's influence in the West that the Orthodox Friends on the Whitewater did him honor by selecting the name of his estate in England, Earlham, as the name for the college which they later established near Richmond.

A CAROLINIAN LOOKS AT INDIANA

THE migration of Friends from the Carolinas and Virginia to the Upper Whitewater appears to have reached its height around 1830. In the earlier years of the migrations, the usual course was to go first to one of the older, well-known Friends' settlements in Ohio and then move on to the frontier. By the twenties, Whitewater Meeting was so well known that the immigrants began to come directly to that region. Guilford and Randolph counties in north-central North Carolina were the center of the migration, but many persons from the old Quaker settlements of the north coastal counties of Perquimans and Pasquotank joined in the western movement. Very few of the migrants were either rich or poor; they were middle-class farmers, well equipped with horses, wagons, and furniture, and carrying with them a few thousand dollars in cash and notes realized from the sale of their home farms.

A typical newcomer at the height of the migration was Aaron White, a prosperous, middle-aged farmer from Pasquotank, North Carolina, who arrived with his wife and three children in 1829. White had visited the Whitewater and bought some land there in 1818, but could not make up his mind to pull up stakes for the West until he was forced by his wife's ill health to seek a different climate.¹ Several of his relatives and neighbors had preceded him to the Whitewater, and in the winter of 1828-29, he decided to cast in his lot with them.

Contemporary accounts of pioneer communities are almost invariably those of hastily informed transients. The actual settlers were usually too busy chopping trees, clearing brush, and raising a crop to keep journals or write letters recounting

¹ John Bell, on the Whitewater, hearing that White was thinking of selling his land there, wrote to him on June 10, 1821, "I . . . wish thee to consider whether it will be right to leave thy posterity in a slave state," and advised him that the market for improved land in that region was at the moment extremely low. This letter and the letters of Aaron White quoted in this chapter are the property of Professor Walter R. Miles, of Yale University, a great-grandson of White.

more than the barest scraps of family happenings or the state of the writer's soul. Fortunately for this history, almost a year elapsed after White's arrival in Indiana, before he came upon a farm that suited his purse and fancy. He found himself with ample time on his hands, much of which he spent writing letters to relatives in North Carolina.

About a month after his arrival on the Whitewater, White described his journey in a letter home. "We set off from Pasquotank the 4th of the 5th mo, and got to the River bridge that night endeavored to cross at twilight over the little floating raft, and one end of the waggon got in the water. . . . however we got along to Portsmouth [Virginia], and . . . took boat. We arrived in Baltimore in 22 hours had a very pleasant passage, . . . set off [by carriage] for Wheeling, where we. . . . hired a boat to take us down the Ohio River to Cincinnati about 400 miles for \$52 [for] my family & horses, where we arrived after an uncommon pleasant passage of 34 hours. . . . then set off for our place of abode . . . & arrived at Milton the 25th. . . . where we were Kindly received and entertained by our friends . . . until we . . . procured a place in this town [Richmond] 16 miles distant. . . . We are now situated in a Snug house . . . finished, and painted as well as the one we left. With a good pump of water at the end of the piazza & other Conveniences. . . ."

The road from Baltimore to Cumberland, White reported in another letter of about the same date, was "tolerable good," all of it "paved with stone and the hills taken down," but the road from Cumberland to Wheeling, though paved and leveled "to a certain degree," had been so cut by the heavy traffic that "it was very rough."

"The face of the country," White wrote in other letters, "is very much improved since I was here in 1818," with the added advantage of "a large body of solid, agreeable Friends." He observed that there was not "much superfluity in dress . . . except at Cincinnati," and that the "people seem much more upon an equality here in this country, which I think will be much advantage to the rising generation; . . . very few if any brought up in idleness how-ever well situated." There were

"great orchards," not only of apples, but also of "pear, peach, plums, and almost all the other kinds that are common," and "crops in much better order generally" than at Pasquotank; also weeds and grass appeared less troublesome "owing," he supposed, to "the hard weather in the winter."

The rent of White's "snug" house at Richmond was only five dollars a month, and later his farm near Milton "without much improvements" but "probably as good as any in the neighborhood" cost him about eight dollars an acre. Pork was two cents a pound, and corn and oats ten cents a bushel; Irish potatoes "very good and in abundance" sold at ten and a half cents a bushel. Though he found "flies of several kinds in abundance" and "now and then a mosquito or gnat," these latter were not, as in Carolina, a plague, and there were "no ticks at all." The delicious drinking water, cool and free from impurities, "regulates the bowels."

However, the new home had its drawbacks. The fall and winter were "dreary, wet, cold and disagreeable." Doctor Warner (who had by this time moved from Salisbury to Richmond), though "very attentive," could not "soothe and encourage" White's ailing wife, as their old family physician in North Carolina had been able to do.

White also spoke of travel and transportation in the valley. The roads were "too much neglected," and "in desperate order to travel after the freeze breaks upon the spring." Indeed, getting about from one place to another seemed to be "the greatest cross" that White was called upon to bear. The "very little money stirring in the country" made it necessary to barter.

The constant necessity for barter, resulting from the shortage of currency in pioneer communities, is indicated by the newspaper advertisements of the period repeatedly proclaiming the readiness of merchants and others to accept produce in lieu of cash. Smith & Palmiter, cabinetmakers, of Richmond, announced, for example, in the *Richmond Weekly Intelligencer* in 1822 that they would accept in exchange for their furniture "pork, grain, wool, flax, linen, linsey, tallow, bees-wax, feathers, [maple] sugar &c," thus, incidentally, throwing light on the surplus products raised on the Whitewater at that time.

In November, 1829, White, though by now the owner of

a farm, decided to conduct a general store at Milton in partnership with Elijah Coffin. But the business of the new firm proved to be "rather dull" with "goods so plenty and cheap that very little profit falls to the merchants" and, though it was pleasing to find so "many people here from North Carolina," he confided to his kinsman David White, "believe me when I say, they are almost as keen as Yankees for taking care of the pence."

Of the effect of the Hicksite separation in the valley White wrote, "The storm seems to be very much blown over hereaway, We hear rather less now than in Carolina. There has been such a complete separation here that they [the Hicksites] do not trouble Friends' Meeting much. They are in several places building new meeting houses for themselves. . . ."

Though not an aggressive antislavery man, White reveals that the "people of colour" were often in his thoughts. In one letter he wrote: "We have had some as cold weather, I believe, as it was three years ago when me and Margaret went to Norfolk to see the people of colour emigrate." Later, the weather was so "uncommonly wet" that it made him "think much of the rainy season in Africa." At another time, "Tell Toucey and Lydia that I often think of them, and the other people of color in the neighborhood, as well as those of my own color," and later he asks "to be remembered to . . . old Aunt Rose and all the other people of colour in the neighborhood." In the same letter, written on September 9, 1829, to his brothers at home he writes, "Ask Thomas Brasher if he will let me have those small children of Toucey's and if so, what is the least he will take for them for me to set them free," promising that, if they were freed, he would endeavor to take care of them. When a wave of antinegro feeling led to the enforcement of penalties for bringing freed negroes into Ohio, with the threat of similar action in Indiana, White apparently abandoned his plan, with the despairing remark that negroes were "very much like the Indian natives, driven whenever in the power of the whites."

Fortunately for the slaves, another North Carolina Quaker, who had come to the Whitewater three years earlier, was less despairing of their plight.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

“Ho! the car Emancipation
Moves majestic thro’ our Nation
Bearing on its train the story
Liberty! a nation’s glory.”

MOST OF the books prescribed for Sunday-evening reading to the children in my younger days were not enthusiastically received, but there was one which was always listened to with keen attention: *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad; Being a Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, with the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, who Gained Their Freedom through His Instrumentality, and Many Other Incidents.*

Levi Coffin, descendant of Tristram Coffin, one of the original purchasers and early settlers of Nantucket Island, was born at New Garden Meetinghouse, North Carolina, in 1789. He studied, worked on his father’s farm, and taught school. In 1826 he and his wife, Catherine White Coffin, came to Newport, now Fountain City, Indiana, where his parents had settled the year before. He abandoned teaching for business, and opened a general store which proved a successful undertaking. But the mercantile business was not to be Levi’s chief concern. His new home, on upper Nolands Fork, was the center of a rapidly growing community of North Carolina Friends which, unlike Richmond, was practically free from other infusions. It was an ideal spot for Coffin’s new activity.

Early in his book Coffin wrote, “Both my parents and grandparents were opposed to slavery, and none of either of the families ever owned slaves; and all were friends of the oppressed, so I claim that I inherited my anti-slavery principles.”¹ Thus simply he explains the strong force that made him assume the responsibility, danger, and expense of involvement as one of the chief figures in a series of adventures that

¹ *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, p. 11.

sent innumerable slaves to their freedom and constitutes one of the most thrilling parts of the history of the pre-Civil War era.

"Levi Coffin, President of the Underground Railway," was the title conferred upon him by Southern slaveholders, who could never get the slightest intelligence of their runaway slaves after they reached his house. It was a title he wore proudly for more than thirty years; retaining it, as he said, until the great celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution by the colored people at Cincinnati.²

Certainly no account of the Whitewater would be worth its salt that failed to include two or three stories from Coffin's stirring volume of *Reminiscences*.

The largest party of fugitives received by Coffin and his wife at their home numbered seventeen, men and women, "all apparently able-bodied and in the prime of life."³ They were all from the same section of northern Kentucky, but belonged to different masters. They had carefully planned their escape and appointed a place of rendezvous where one night they assembled, bringing with them some clothing and whatever money they had been able to save. Their next move was to the Ohio where their leader had engaged a "poor white man" whom he knew to be trustworthy, to take them across the river in his boat. Before dawn they had landed on the Indiana shore and hurried to the woods and ravines to hide themselves. From here Coffin continues the story:

"The next night they left their hiding-places and moved cautiously northward, not daring to travel in the road, but making their way through corn-fields and across plantations. At one time, when they had just crossed a road and entered a corn-field in the river bottom, they heard the sound of horses' feet, in the road near by. Two or three men, who were riding ahead of the main party, saw the fugitives and gave the alarm. The pursuers instantly dismounted and rushed into the corn-field, but having to climb a high rail fence they did not gain on the runaways. The party of fugitives scattered, and fled rapidly through the wilderness of tall, full-bladed corn. The

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³ This story is told in *ibid.*, pp. 178-86.

field they were in was large, and other corn-fields joined it, lying in the rich bottom so that they had the advantage of shelter all the way. The pursuers, fifteen or twenty in number, divided and rushed after them with guns in hand, calling on them to stop or they would be shot down. Some of the fugitives recognized the voices of their masters, but they heeded them not. They ran on with all their might, each one looking out for himself or herself. Several shots were fired at them as they ran, and they heard the bullets whistle through the corn around them. They outstripped their pursuers, and ran from one corn-field to another in the bottom land until they had gone two or three miles. Hearing no sound of their pursuers, they stopped to take breath and see if all their party were safe."

By low whistles and calls about half of them got together and concealed themselves in a thicket. The next morning they met with a friendly colored man who led them to a safe hiding place and got food for them. That night he conducted them to the Hicklin settlement, an Underground Railroad depot in Jefferson County, where they found the other members of their group. Two of them had received gunshot wounds, painful but not dangerous.

"The two companies were glad to meet again," says Coffin, "and soon prepared to renew their journey to the North. Their friends at Hicklin settlement provided two wagons and transported them to the next station, and they were hurried on from station to station, traveling at night and hiding during the day, until they reached my house, as I have mentioned. On that morning my wife had risen first, and when she heard the two wagons drive up and stop, she opened the door. She knew the drivers, who were from Union County, and who had been at our house on similar errands before. She spoke to these conductors and asked: 'What have you got there?'

"One of them replied: 'All Kentucky.'

"'Well, bring all Kentucky in,' she answered, then stepped back to our room and told me to get up, for all Kentucky had come. I sprang up and dressed quickly, and when I went out, I found the fugitives all seated in the room, my wife having

welcomed them and invited them to take chairs and sit down. I said to one of the conductors:

“‘The train has brought some valuable looking passengers this time. How many have you?’

“‘Only seventeen this load,’ he replied.

“‘Well,’ I said, ‘seventeen full-grown darkies and two able-bodied Hoosiers are about as many as the cars can bear at one time. Now you may switch off and put your locomotives in my stable and let them blow off steam, and we will water and feed them.’

“My wife and our hired girl soon had breakfast prepared for the party, and the seventeen fugitives were all seated together around a long table in the dining-room. We assured them that they could partake of their food without fear of molestation, for they were now among friends, in a neighborhood of abolitionists, and a fugitive had never been captured in our town. Their countenances brightened at this assurance, and they seemed more at ease. Several of our near neighbors came in to see this valuable property seated around our table, and estimated that, according to the owners’ valuation, they were worth \$17,000. Two of the company were still suffering from the wounds they had received. After breakfast, Dr. Way and Dr. Stanton were invited in to see the wounded fugitives. They took the two men to their office near by and examined them. They extracted a number of small shot from the back and shoulders of one, then dressed his wounds and the wound of the other, who had been struck by a rifle ball. The men then seemed comfortable, and were very thankful for this kind treatment.”

The party stayed with the Coffins for two nights, then left for the next station in two wagons, well provided with clothing and in the hands of faithful conductors. Next day Coffin was warned that the Kentucky hunters were still in pursuit and he thought it wise to warn the party. A messenger was sent after them and pains were taken to scatter and conceal them among friends. They remained in hiding for several weeks, then resumed their northward journey, from station to station, until they reached Canada.

The adventures of John and Mary, which occurred after Coffin moved from Newport to Cincinnati, was even dearer to our hearts. Here is their story as Coffin tells it.⁴

"There lived near Lexington, Kentucky, a slave man of unusual intelligence, whose master was in the habit of buying horses and mules and taking them to Georgia and South Carolina to sell. The slave, whom I will call John, was such a trusty servant that he was always taken on the expeditions to the South to aid his master, and was of great service on such occasions. His master treated him kindly, and allowed him some privileges of which slaves are usually deprived.

"John had a wife, an intelligent negro woman, named Mary, who belonged to a man in the vicinity, and hired her time of her master, as was sometimes the custom. By this arrangement John and Mary lived together in a snug little house on his master's premises, which they had comfortably furnished by means of their joint industry. . . . But their happiness was rudely disturbed by the intelligence that John's master had become involved in debt and had concluded to sell him on the next trip South. This news reached John shortly before the time fixed to start, and he lost no time in communicating it to Mary, and consulting with her as to what should be done. They decided that they would make the attempt to escape.

"They traveled on foot all that night, and hid themselves during the following day in the thick bushes, subsisting on the scanty food they carried with them. They proceeded thus for nearly a week, traveling at night and hiding as best they could in the daytime. Their progress was slow, on account of Mary, who was hardly able to walk. She became very weak, and the last night she was so exhausted that her husband and the guide had to walk one on each side of her, and support her. They reached the Ohio River before daylight at a point where the guide had arranged for a skiff to be placed, and in this they crossed the river. Reaching Cincinnati, they went to the house of their colored friends. I was sent for, and when

⁴ *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, pp. 447-56.

I visited them I found Mary very ill and weak, and unable to take any food. . . .

"At the end of two weeks she was so far restored as to be able to be removed, and for greater safety was brought to our house, where she received every care and attention, and remained until strong enough to travel.

"I was going to Newport, Indiana, on business, about that time, and concluded to travel in my carriage that I might take John and Mary with me. . . . so when the carriage was brought around, John took the lines and I occupied the back seat by the side of Mary, who was well dressed and heavily veiled.

"We started about three o'clock in the afternoon, and drove across Mt. Auburn, through Clifton, and along the Winton road to Hamilton. We arrived that night at a Friends' settlement at West Elkton, and stopped at the house of 'Squire Stubbs, a well-known abolitionist.

". . . we pursued our journey by way of Camden, taking a country road leading up Paint Creek, and coming into the Darrtown and Richmond pike, some distance below Boston, before dark. The moon afforded us light, and we traveled on very pleasantly until about ten o'clock, when we reached the house of my friend Daniel Clark, who lived on Elkhorn, about five miles below Richmond. . . . Clark's son-in-law, T. Hill, came out into the yard, and, not recognizing me, asked what was wanted.

"I replied: 'I want to know if you take Underground Railroad passengers here.'

"Daniel Clark had opened the window of his room, which fronted the road, and recognizing my voice, he cried out: 'Yes! drive in.' "

There was a party of four fugitives at James Hayworth's house near by, and it was arranged that the next morning Coffin would take one of them into his carriage and Hayworth would take three in his, and they would all proceed north together.

"When we arrived at Richmond," Coffin continues, "James seemed reluctant to pass through the main part, so we bore to the right and passed through the eastern edge of the town, by

way of Moffat's mill, on the east fork of Whitewater. The mill then belonged to William Kenworthy and Benjamin Fulghum, of Richmond, and as we drew near it, I discovered them among a company of men who were raising an addition to the building, and noticed that their attention was attracted to us. When we got opposite the company . . . I sang out at the top of my voice the words of an old anti-slavery song,

“ ‘Ho! the car Emancipation,
Moves majestic through the nation.’ ”

“The men suspended work to cheer us in reply. They recognized the President of the Underground Railroad at work, and came out in a body to greet us and wish us God-speed. . . . Pursuing our journey, we turned into the Newport pike and soon came to a toll-gate, with the keeper of which I was acquainted. I said to him: ‘I suppose you allow the Underground Railroad cars to pass free on this road.’ ”

“ ‘Yes,’ he replied; so we passed on without paying. ”

“Just before reaching Newport we came to another toll-gate, kept by an old man named Hockett, lately from North Carolina. . . . I halted, and said to him: ‘I suppose you charge nothing for the cars of the Underground Railroad that pass through this gate. ”

“ ‘Underground Railroad cars?’ he drawled, sleepily. ”

“ ‘Yes,’ I said; ‘didn’t they give thee orders when they placed thee here to let such cars pass free?’ ”

“ ‘No,’ he replied; ‘they said nothing about it.’ ”

“ ‘Well, that’s strange. Most of the stockholders of this road are large stockholders in the Underground Railroad, and we never charge anything on that road. I am well acquainted with the president of this road, and I know that he holds stock in our road. I expect to see him to-day, and several of the directors, and I shall report thee for charging Underground Railroad passengers toll.’ ”

“The gate-keeper seemed much confused, and said that he knew nothing about the Underground Railroad. ”

“ ‘Why!’ I exclaimed, with apparent surprise, ‘what part of the world art thou from?’ ”

“ ‘North Carliny,’ he drawled. ”

“‘I thought thee was from some dark corner of the globe,’ I said, and handed him the money, which I had been holding in my fingers during the conversation. . . .”

John and Mary stayed at Daniel Huff's in Newport and then were forwarded to Winchester by stage. This was the most convenient way, and considered quite safe if there were no “suspicious” passengers aboard. Coffin's bill of lading for the couple read, “Shipped in good order and well conditioned, two baboons,⁵ of fine stock and very valuable. Please receive and forward the same to George D. Baptist, Detroit, Michigan, by way of Camden and Fort Wayne; I consider that to be the safest route. Take special care of them; do not allow them to run at large. They are quite tame, but bloodhounds sometimes get on their track, and might injure them. They are male and female; the female is not very stout at present, having just recovered from a spell of sickness. Please give them a warm dry place in which to lie, while at Winchester, and do not let them be too much exposed to idle spectators, as it might annoy them. They will be of little trouble about feeding, as they eat the same kind of food that human beings do, and seem to thrive on it. Put them in charge of a good conductor, who will take special care of them. Your prompt attention to this matter will much oblige your friend,

“LEVI COFFIN.”

Sometime afterward Coffin received word of John and Mary's safe arrival in Canada and of their declaration “that they had no idea there were such white people in the world as those who had so kindly befriended them in their hour of need.”

⁵ A thrust at the proslavery partisans who classified negroes as baboons.

HENRY CLAY MAKES A SPEECH

THERE IS probably no region in the country more destitute of authentic folklore than the Whitewater. The legend of a Johnny Appleseed traveling up and down the Whitewater, doing his good deeds, is now current in the valley, but was not in my boyhood days. If sufficiently hard pressed for a bit of family or neighborhood tradition, the old people of the valley might spin a yarn about bears, Indians, wild pigeons, big bass, the earthquake of 1812, Asiatic cholera, or the first amazing appearance of the seventeen-year locusts. But the only story that I can remember having the authentic qualities of folklore—a central theme embroidered by a wide variety of embellishments—is the encounter of Henry Clay with Hiram Mendenhall, a fighting Quaker from Randolph County.

Some say that Hiram was a tall, broad-shouldered man who pushed everyone aside to present his petition to the great conciliator. Others maintain that he was so tiny that he was able to wriggle his way through the crowd to Clay's elbow. Still others claim that he was sitting on the edge of the platform when Clay arrived. The versions of Clay's behavior are similarly varied; some will have it that he was self-possessed but bitterly sarcastic, others that he was almost beside himself with rage, and still others that he was never more urbane. There are divergencies as to what Clay and Mendenhall said to each other, and as to what happened at the Whitewater Friends Meeting the next day. But everyone on the Whitewater who goes in for such matters is agreed that, but for Hiram Mendenhall, the Civil War would probably never have been fought.

The theory is that if Clay had not encountered Mendenhall he would have been elected president in 1844, that if he had been elected president, he would have prevented the annexation of Texas, and that if the Southern states had not gained Texas, they would not have been strong enough to dare secede. This theory has too many "ifs" to impress anyone not brought

up on it; but, as the rest of this chapter will show, there was, at least, a Hiram Mendenhall who publicly handed an embarrassing petition to Henry Clay, and the affair may conceivably have been the deciding factor in Clay's defeat in 1844.

The Quakers were almost solidly Whig, and the Whitewater counties of Union, Henry, Randolph, and Wayne, largely populated by Quakers, were a great stronghold of the Whig party in Indiana. It was, therefore, foreordained that Clay, on his way from a great reception in his honor at Dayton to another at Indianapolis in the fall of 1842, should stop off at Richmond to give his admirers on the Whitewater an opportunity to display their enthusiasm.

The Friends adhered to the traditional Quaker view that members of their Society should refrain from holding slaves, but there was division among them as to whether or not they should take any stand on the question of slaveholding by others. The great majority, by instinct and conviction, were unalterably opposed to any violent course of abolition. Their view was well exemplified by a Minute passed in 1839 by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), prompted by the abolitionist movement, "affectionately" cautioning its members "against the excitement of an unsanctified and intemperate zeal, or joining in associations founded, or conducted upon principles which may hazard the faithful maintenance of . . . religious testimonies," especially, of course, the testimonies against war.¹

Many individual Friends throughout the country—Benjamin Lundy, Lucretia Mott, the poet Whittier, and the Grimké sisters, for example—refused to conform to the prevailing view of their Society and joined abolitionist and other anti-slavery societies.

Among the Whitewater Valley Friends the division on slavery was sharp, and was to lead to the separation of the Anti-Slavery Friends from the Indiana Yearly Meeting and the organization of their own meeting in 1843. In the summer and fall of 1842 feelings on this subject were running at high pitch. In fact, on the very day that Henry Clay was at

¹ Quoted in *The Friend. A Religious and Literary Journal*, XII (Philadelphia, 1839), p. 279.

Richmond, on October 1, four members of the militant abolitionist wing of the Indiana Yearly Meeting—Benjamin Stanton, Jacob Grave, William Locke, and Charles Osborn—were excluded from the executive committee or “Meeting for Sufferings,” as it was called, for antislavery activities. It was, of course, a stench in the nostrils of the abolitionist Friends that their fellow churchmen should support the presidential ambitions of Henry Clay, the owner of fifty slaves.

Clay’s coming was regarded as an event of singular importance in the valley. The Whig papers were lyric in their advance publicity, and preparations were worked out in detail. On August 20 the Richmond *Palladium* announced: “Henry Clay will visit Indiana, . . . [and] the Whigs of this county have determined to hold a meeting at Centerville on Saturday, August 27, to make the necessary arrangements for this reception. Every Whig, every friend to Whig principles, every friend to American interests, every friend to the great and glorious American system and every friend of Henry Clay, is expected to be present; . . . Clay is emphatically the people’s man, and though persons may differ with him on political principles, no man who is worthy of the name of a MAN, doubts his patriotism, his integrity, his talents and his ability to administer the Executive duties of the Nation.”

The Centerville *Wayne County Record*, also a Whig paper, carried a lengthy report of this meeting.² After much deliberation Lot Bloomfield was chosen “President of the Day,” and a committee of reception, vice-presidents, an executive committee, grand marshal, and assistant marshals were appointed for the occasion. Invitation to the reception was extended to all the citizens of the United States who could attend.

The great day, October 1, finally came. When Clay reached the state line, he was greeted by “a large concourse of his fellow citizens of Indiana,” and “formally welcomed to the hospitalities of the Hoosier State.” The reception proceeded to Richmond under the direction of the Grand Marshal of the day, Thomas G. Noble. It was an impressive pageant, estimated

² September 7, 1842.

by one probably over-enthusiastic reporter as including 802 carriages and about eight thousand persons.³

Mr. Clay addressed the throng in the afternoon. It was "a plain talk with the People," "an exposition of his own political principles and of those of the great Whig party," by an orator "without a rival in our country," the *Record* declared. It brought great applause and cheering.⁴ But at the conclusion, a jarring note was thrust into the felicitous proceedings. The abolitionists made their move. It was announced that Mr. Hiram Mendenhall wished to present a petition to Mr. Clay. Something of the sort was evidently feared by some of the citizens, for on September 21 the *Wayne County Record* had expressed a hope that no such move would be made. "Mr. Clay comes here as an invited guest," it said, "and under such circumstances it would be a breach of hospitality, and an insult to beset him with a Petition of such a character. After his return home, we have no objection how many petitions are sent to him."⁵ The abolitionists had not been swayed. Mr. Mendenhall presented the following petition signed by two thousand persons:

"*To Henry Clay.*—We the undersigned citizens of Indiana, in view of the declaration of rights contained in the charter of American Independence, in view of that justice which is due from man to his fellow man; and in view of those noble principles which should characterize the Patriot; the Philanthropist and the Christian; ask you, most respectfully to 'unloose the heavy burdens,' and that you let the oppressed under your control, who call you *master* go FREE. By doing so you would give 'liberty to whom liberty is due,' and do no more than justice to those under your charge, who have long been deprived by you of the sacred boon of freedom; and set an example that would result in much good to suffering and debased humanity, and do an act altogether worthy of a great and good man."⁶

Exactly who the signers were is not known. The *Free*

³ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 5, 1842.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1842.

⁶ *Ibid.*

*Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*⁷ merely stated that they were citizens of Indiana. The Centerville paper declared: "The Petition was doubtless got up by the Abolitionists, but probably not more than half of those who put their names to it are of that class. For the purpose of insulting Mr. Clay, and placing him . . . in an embarrassing situation before the People, the Democrats took the matter up—circulated the Petition, and many of them gave it the sanction of their names." In fact, it went so far as to say that "no less than one third of the signers are Democrats—haters and opposers of the Abolition doctrine. We are also informed that probably another third are *Negroes*." The remaining third of the signers were allowed to be Abolitionists, but "many of them Females."⁸

All newspaper reports of the occasion are agreed that the presentation of the petition caused a sensation. Says the *Free Labor Advocate*,⁹ "Threats and cries of violence were heard from a few desperate characters in the crowd." Another account stated that "some cried out pull him (Mr. Mendenhall) down, and a high degree of excitement of anger, and of indignation were kindling against him."¹⁰ It is also agreed that Clay stopped the tumult, entreated that no violence be done the petitioners, and proceeded to address a reply to Mr. Mendenhall.

This reply, says the *Wayne County Record* "was severe, yet courteous—gentlemanly and even mild, yet withering as the scorching heat of the vertical sun." Lengthy reports of what Clay said were carried by the newspapers.¹¹ The presentation of the petition at this time he deemed discourteous and in violation of the "rites of hospitality." Had his petitioners presented it to him at his home in Kentucky, he assured them, they would have been received and treated respectfully and hospitably. He, too, assumed that many of the signers

⁷ October 15, 1842. This was a weekly newspaper published at Newport (now Fountain City), Indiana. See *post*, pp. 83-84.

⁸ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 5, 1842.

⁹ October 15, 1842.

¹⁰ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, October 5, 1842.

¹¹ See *ibid.*; *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, October 15, 1842. The Centerville *Wayne County Record*, on October 26, reprinted in full the speech as recorded in the Lexington (Ky.) *Observer and Reporter*.

were Democrats rather than Abolitionists. As for slavery, he pronounced it an evil fastened on the country by Great Britain, but denied that the signers of the Declaration of Independence ever intended that document to be interpreted in the Abolitionists' fashion.

He spoke of his own slaves, his kindness to them, and their devotion to him, and according to one report, added to the delight of many in the audience by interpolating: "Excuse me, Mr. Mendenhall, for saying that my slaves are as well fed and clad, and look as sleek and hearty, and are quite as civil and respectful in their demeanor, and as little disposed to wound the feelings of any one, as you are."

He then cleverly paid tribute to the Friends who made up such a large part of his audience, "Let me recommend you, sir," he said to Mr. Mendenhall, "to imitate the benevolent example of the Society of Friends in the midst of which you reside. Meek, gentle, imbued with the genuine spirit of our benign religion, whilst in principle they are firmly opposed to slavery, they do not seek to accomplish its extinction by foul epithets, coarse and vulgar abuse and gross calumny. Their ways do not lead through blood, revolution and disunion. Their broad and comprehensive philanthropy embraces, as they believe, the good and happiness of the white as well as the black race; giving to the one their commiseration, to the other their kindest sympathy. . . . Unambitious, they have no political objects or purposes to subserve. My intercourse with them throughout life has been considerable, interesting and agreeable; and I venture to say that nothing could have induced them, as a Society, whatever a few individuals might have been tempted to do, to seize the occasion of my casual passage through this State, to offer me a personal indignity."

He inquired of Mr. Mendenhall how his slaves would be cared for if he should free them, and if Mr. Mendenhall and his associates had considered raising the sum of \$15,000 to compensate him for the loss of his property should he grant their petition.

Accounts of Mr. Mendenhall's behavior under the prick of Clay's thrusts differ. The *Free Labor Advocate* praises

him for poise and calmness. The *Wayne County Record* declared that after Clay had addressed him about half an hour, Mr. Mendenhall "writhed under his severe castigation as on a bed of coals, and had more of the gallows look about him than any white man we ever beheld before." In concluding its report the *Record* said: "Mr. Clay advised him [Mr. Mendenhall] to go home, and attend to his own business, which we understand is almost wholly neglected, and if he had any means to spare, which we are informed he has not, to bestow them on the poor in his own neighborhood. Mr. Mendenhall, we understand, lives on 'Cabin Creek,' near the settlement of Africa, (black) in Randolph County, in which place he doubtless got many of the signatures to his Petition."

So ended the first day of Clay's visit to the Whitewater. The next day contributed other injuries to the antislavery group. It was Sunday, and Clay attended meeting at the Whitewater Friends Meetinghouse. Stories of this event ran riot. It was circulated that the Yearly Meeting censured all its members who had signed Mr. Mendenhall's petition and that it appointed a committee to inform Clay that the body disapproved it. It was also reported that after the meeting Clay was "surrounded by throngs of men and women, eager to exchange salutations with the slave-holding duelist, and kissed by a number of the latter.—And that the clerk of Yearly meeting took him in his carriage and drove three times around the house in order to exhibit him to the gazing throng."¹²

On December 10, the *Free Labor Advocate* came out with a story of its own which was intended "to correct all the erroneous statements made about the occasion." The "correct" story made it clear that, though there had been no official censure of the signers of the antislavery petition and no ostentatious driving of Clay's carriage around the meetinghouse, a prominent minister of the Society had introduced Clay in the meetinghouse to many there who had "gathered around, apparently eager to shake his blood stained hand."¹³

¹² *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, December 10, 1842.

¹³ This refers to Clay's reputation as a duelist. Dueling was, of course, anathema to all sound Friends.

In short, the *Free Labor Advocate* declared, "we believe that such special honors, such marked attentions were never before publicly paid by Friends to any man however good or great, as were on this occasion paid to the prince of slaveholders. . . .

"Respecting the kissing, so much talked about," the reporter was in honesty compelled to confess, "it was not done in the meeting house that we know of. All the information we have on the subject, that we can rely on is this.

"Henry Clay being at the temperance boarding house, and about to take leave of the place, when he came down stairs, a considerable number of females, old and young, Orthodox and Hicksites, were arranged in a line, along which he passed from one end to the other, giving each an affectionate parting kiss.

"We shall conclude by saying that we hope there are yet 'seven thousand in our Israel who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of slavery, nor kissed his image.'"¹⁴

William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist paper, *The Liberator*, published weekly in Boston, and the New York *Tribune*, the great Whig daily, in their issues of October 21, discussed Clay's speech, and, a week later, the Boston *Emancipator* said editorially: "It must have been very edifying to the Quakers to see this old duelist in their meeting, most devoutly sitting in the stillness. The way the followers of George Fox sucked it in. . . ." The *Tribune's* three-column account of the

¹⁴ The following address from the Meeting for Sufferings of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, October, 1843, shows plainly the attitude of the Anti-Slavery Friends: "The attention paid [at Whitewater Meeting] to Henry Clay, the great slave-holder and President of the Colonization Society . . . shows conclusively, that there is far more anxiety to conciliate the good opinion of slaveholders and Colonizationists, that you [members of Indiana Yearly Meeting] may 'retain place and influence with the rulers of the land,' than to identify yourselves in feeling and interest with the humble and devoted, yet despised advocates of the claims of down-trodden humanity." Edgerton, Walter, *A History of the Separation of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends . . . on the Anti-Slavery Question* (Cincinnati, 1856), p. 119. The Anti-Slavery Friends contended along with the other Abolitionists, that the "Colonization Society was instituted mainly by slaveholders, and purposely for the removal of the free people of color from the country, in order that none of the despised class might enjoy liberty among us." *Ibid.*, p. 156.

speech, favorable, of course, to Clay, was widely copied or paraphrased by other Whig newspapers in the East. But Clay's remarks, however favorably reported, were bound to be harmful to him, for the halfheartedness of his defense of slavery would attract no proslavery votes, and the fact that he defended slavery at all was offensive to the opponents of slavery.

As to the local tradition that his Richmond speech cost Clay the presidency in 1844, I can only say that the Liberty party was admittedly drawn mainly from the Whig party; that Birney, the Liberty party candidate, polled 15,812 votes in New York; that President-elect Polk's majority over Clay in New York was only 5,106; and that Clay would have been elected if he had carried New York. It is anyone's guess as to how many of the New Yorkers who voted for Birney were influenced by Clay's encounter with Mendenhall. I have found no evidence that any of them were.

NATHAN THOMAS AND THE FREE PRODUCE MOVEMENT

THE PLAN of doing away with slavery by abstaining from the use of slave-produced goods and crops was first presented to an organized body in this country in 1796. In that year at the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and Improving the Condition of the African Race, the members were urged "to display a marked preference of all such commodities as are of the culture and manufacture of freemen, to those which are cultivated or manufactured by slaves."¹ This movement found support among antislavery groups generally, and thanks to its pacific character found favor among the Friends. Various short-lived organizations were established to boycott slave-labor products, but it was only with the formation in 1845 of the Free Produce Association of Friends by members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that the movement received the backing of a strong organization.

Long before this the idea had been taken up by the zealous antislavery element in the Whitewater. Their convictions were strong, their energy great, and the means they used to pursue their aims were varied. Warnings from the conservatives could not check their ardor.

Levi Coffin's Underground Railroad activities were, of course, a repudiation of the admonitions of the Indiana Yearly Meeting against intemperate zeal and an indication of the strength that the radical element had acquired in the valley. The establishment at Newport in 1841 of two antislavery journals testifies to this, too. These organs, printed alternately on the same press, were the *Protectionist* and the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*. To be sure, the former, published by the famous antislavery lecturer from the East, Arnold Buffum, was short-lived, its existence confined to only one

¹ Quoted in Nuernberger, Ruth K., *The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, XXV, Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1942)*, p. 11.

year. But the latter, published by Benjamin Stanton, a merchant, and Dr. Henry H. Way, a physician, both of Newport, remained a mouthpiece for the antislavery movement in the West for seven years.

As the antislavery element within Indiana Yearly Meeting strengthened, the hostility of the conservatives became more manifest. Finally in February, 1843, Stanton, Way, Levi Coffin, Charles Osborn,² and others made their famous break with the Indiana Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) and formed the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, taking with them about a tenth of the twenty-odd thousand Friends constituting the regular Meeting. Their antislavery activities, including their connection with the free-labor movement, were now more concentrated than ever.

In 1831 Charles W. Starr had opened a spinning mill in Richmond in which free-labor cotton only was used, but he ran into difficulties because there were no power looms in the region and, also, because there was only a very limited supply of such cotton available. In January, 1842, the Wayne County Free Produce Association was organized with Benjamin Stanton, Henry H. Way, Levi Coffin, Jonathan Unthank, and Jacob Grave taking the lead. This was followed a month later by the establishment in Union County, Indiana, of the Western Free Produce Association. Five years later, in behalf of this organization, Levi Coffin left Newport to go to Cincinnati, where he struggled through a ten-year period of ups and downs trying to operate a free-labor wholesale store.

Coffin traveled in the South searching for sources of free-labor cotton and endeavoring to plead the cause of the slaves and the merits of abolition and paid labor. With all his efforts and enthusiasm, the business did not prosper. "Notwithstanding the facilities we had for procuring large quantities of free labor cotton and the arrangements I had made for manufacturing staple articles in Cincinnati," he wrote in his *Reminiscences*,

² Abolitionist Friend, publisher of the *Philanthropist* at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, August 29, 1817-October 8, 1818. Through its pages he denounced the colonization idea as a means of protecting slavery and thwarting emancipation. He became an advocate of immediate emancipation in 1832.

"I found it to be a losing business. On account of the additional expense of procuring free-labor cotton and the difficulty of obtaining and keeping an assortment of dry-goods and groceries, it soon became evident after I opened the store in Cincinnati that the enterprise would not sustain itself unless it could be conducted on a much larger scale than my means allowed." The market in the West was considerable, but sufficient capital to conduct such a business at a profit was not forthcoming. "By close financiering and strict economy," Coffin wrote, "I kept up the business at Cincinnati for ten years, then sold out, and retired from mercantile life with very limited means."³

Another Whitewater figure who took part in this movement was Nathan Thomas, an untutored Wayne County farmer and ardent Anti-Slavery Friend. To secure free-labor rice, sugar, and tobacco was relatively simple. Rice and sugar, produced by technically free labor in the East and West Indies, could usually be had for a slightly higher price than domestically produced articles, and an ample quantity of reasonably priced free-state tobacco was always available. Free-labor cotton was the chief problem, and the Free Produce Association of Friends must, therefore, have been delighted to hear through Levi Coffin that Nathan Thomas, visiting relatives in northern Mississippi, would be an ideal person to scout for regions where such cotton might be purchased.

The Association wrote Thomas on November 15, 1845, authorizing him to purchase fifty bales of cotton. Thomas accepted this commission, and again in the winters of 1847-48 and 1849-50 he made trips to the South for the Association. His letters and the reports that he wrote upon his return to Newport are interesting documents on the free-produce movement and on the nonslaveholding class in the South.

On his 1845-46 expedition Thomas finally succeeded in obtaining sixty-three bales of free-labor cotton for the Association. There were no end of difficulties involved in the procedure. Cash in advance was necessary, for it was only small farmers who had free-labor cotton, and they needed their

³ *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, pp. 292, 296.

money. Extra expense was incurred in securing free-labor transportation and ginning. In one letter Thomas described the difficulties involved in getting the ginning done: "[there was] a small additional expence for bailing, in order to make it entirely clear from Slave labour. . . . A part we got white men to handle entirely by renting gins an other part was gined through the Christmas Holladays when the slaves got the entire proffit and the rest we have had to pay the slaves (with the concent of their claiments) for ther survises over and above the usual toll for gining according to the number of them engaged in it as the gins are all owned by the large planters, we have had to seek the most favourable opportunities for having it put up right, which makes by far the greatest difficulty in obtaining free cotton. . . ."⁴

Some of the cotton Thomas procured was retained in the United States for manufacture of sheeting, calico, and bed-ticking; the rest went to Manchester, England, for manufacture into finer cloth for the American free-produce market.

Of the attitude of the Southerners toward his business he wrote, ". . . we had no vilence shown us although excitement ran very high in some places. We ware threatened with the civil authorities . . . but we endeavored to act prudently on all occasions. . . ." Masters were cautioned to guard their slave quarters, for it was reported that Thomas came "to instill mischief in the heads of the negrows."⁵

In the winter of 1847-48 Thomas made a trip to the South for the Association under instructions to look for rice and sugar as well as more ample supplies of cotton. He found no free-labor rice or sugar, but, in McNary and Hardin counties, Tennessee, found more free-labor cotton than he had "expected to find any where." He made the pleasant discovery that "a large portion of the citizens there came from Guilford Co N. Carolina, altho not Friends (or Members) I think I never saw so clearly the awful necessity of Friends being consistent and Faithful as when amongs those kind people when taking the hand would recur back to early time, to impression made

⁴ Quoted in Nuernberger, *Free Produce Movement*, p. 66n.

⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 68.

at an early day by the consistant orderly walking amongst Friend[s]. it is sweetly recollected by them in there hory locks." The "land being broken no chance for large farmers to work there slaves," many of the slaveholders had "gon on farther south" leaving the land largely in the hands of nonslaveholders.⁶

Thomas accounted for the concentration of nonslaveholders in certain parts of the South not only by the character of the land in these parts, but by the general social system in the South. "Society [in the South]," said Thomas, "may properly be classed in 3 classes the high, The Middling, & the Low, each moving in its respective sphere, allotted them, by those above themselves. The first consists of the wealthy S. Holdr who looks upon all who Labour, as below his notice for an associated. The second of those who own a few Slaves, but not enough to take of[f] the Disgrace of labor but most of whom ar[e] in full strech after the first class in hopes to arrive at that point where they can leave of[f] Labour, and take a higher stand of respectability. . . . The 3rd class is those who are not able to own any Slaves, but compelled to labour for all they get . . . (and are by some denominated, poor White trash) [they are] pushed off from the higher orders of society . . . deprived of the common social visits we have in this country, often too poer, if they could read, to take any paper they can know but little about any thing out of ther own observation They feel themselves oppressed. they know the prejudice that exists against them about equal to the slave, in that point of view . . . [and] when they can find portions of the country, where they can form society of their own . . . they congregate in such places. . . ."⁷

Thomas pointed out that there was "no other excuse so

⁶ Nathan Thomas to George W. Taylor, Hardin County, Tennessee, January 25 and February 2, 1848. From copies in possession of Mrs. Ruth K. Neurmburger of originals in George W. Taylor MSS., in possession of Francis R. Taylor, Philadelphia.

⁷ Nathan Thomas to the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. New Garden, Indiana, April 27, 1848. George W. Taylor MSS., from copy in possession of Mrs. Ruth K. Neurmburger.

plausible" as the search for free produce, "for the friends of equal rights" to go among the poor whites "explaining . . . the cause of there oppression" and winning over "a host of efficient labourers" for the antislavery cause.⁸

Thomas' last trip, in the winter of 1849-50, was not successful. He discovered a fine free-labor district in Walker County, Alabama, the so-called "Free State of Walker," but these were the days immediately preceding the Compromise of 1850, and the South was too embroiled in the questions of fugitive slaves and the extension of slavery to permit an Anti-Slavery Friend from the North to develop new sources of supply of free-labor cotton. Thomas, realizing this, wrote, "And now dear friend [Samuel Rhoads, official of the Free Produce Association of Friends] I come to a *waty* matter with us, that is, under the present exited state of public sentiment a doubt of the propriety of extending our mission through Georgia and what makes it more trying to us is not having an opportunity of conferring with you on the matter; It appears to be the expectation of all the reading portion of community that a *desalootion* is about *certain* and arraingments are already making by some for such an *event*; true the most of the F. community are not advised on this matter only by the planters and then in a way suited to arouse them in an unprofitable manner. the tide of publick sentiment is evidently getting more and more prejudised against the North."⁹

One of the slaveholders with whom Thomas talked admitted that "the Abolition excitement had been a great benefit to the slavs as it had caused the s. holders to be more particular about the abuse of slavs." Many of the slaveholders also admitted "slavry to be an evil and a curs to the country," but when asked, "why curse another country [the new territories] with it, the pretended excuse is that it wont do to free them here, and we cant take or send them off, and we must have some place for them to be caried to." To Thomas' suggestion "that New Mexico and California be given to them [the slaves] as an inheritance," the reply was they "cant take care of themselves

⁸ Nathan Thomas to the Board of Managers, April 27, 1848, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Quoted in Nuermberger, *Free Produce Movement*, pp. 74-75.

or . . . are so blood thirsty they would soon massacre each other."¹⁰

An appealingly human touch is Thomas' manifest sense of injury at the slaveholders' suspicion of his motives. He had apparently forgotten his earlier assurance to the Association that there was "no other excuse so plausible" as the search for free produce for circulating among the nonslaveholding whites in the South and winning antislavery recruits there.

Discouraged by the suspicion and hostility manifested towards him, Thomas returned north, going to Nashville, then Louisville, and on to Cincinnati. After a visit with his old neighbor, Levi Coffin, he came up to Richmond by a thirteen-hour stage, reaching home in February, 1850. During the next year he bent his efforts toward promoting the use of free-labor goods in the valley, until his death from cholera in August, 1851.

Philadelphia Friends continued to sponsor the manufacture and sale of free-labor goods until after the outbreak of the Civil War, but the Association failed to achieve the importance its founders had hoped. The price of free-labor goods was always higher than of ordinary goods, capital was scarce, and the small manufacturers who used free-labor materials never succeeded in making their wares very tempting. Even Lucretia Mott confessed that "unfortunately, free sugar was not always as free from other taints as from that of slavery; free calicoes could seldom be called handsome, even by the most enthusiastic," and free candies were a veritable "abomination."

¹⁰ Nathan Thomas to the Board of Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. New Garden, Indiana, February 14, 1850, p. 5. George W. Taylor MSS., from copy in possession of Mrs. Ruth K. Neurmberger.

THE SHOUTING METHODISTS

SOMEONE should write a history of the leading sects in terms of when, where, and how they became generally "respectable." The Friends were at one time a poor, highly emotional, and, from a conservative point of view, disturbing and sometimes ludicrous people. That is probably why, in the beginning, the Philistines called them derisively not Friends, but Quakers. By the time they began coming to the Whitewater they had become, on the whole, a prosperous, conservative, and stable folk—so much so that they looked upon the "shouting" Methodists, the other major sect in that region, as undignified, aggressive, and generally undesirable.

The best-known early Methodist on the Upper Whitewater was Hugh Cull, a Methodist exhorter or unpaid preacher from Henry County, Kentucky, who moved to a farm about four miles south of Richmond in 1805. He was not a "strong preacher," but is said to have had great "talent for exhortation," and "a most burning zeal against all sorts of sin," which he would depict "in its most horrid aspects," and "most pathetically exhort sinners to flee from it, and turn to God and seek salvation; and great was his success."¹

Cull, as far as is known, kept no journal. But Thomas Comstock, a Methodist minister who knew him, has left a vivid, if somewhat fabulous, portrait of him. Cull apparently lived in an aura of miracles. Shortly after moving to Indiana "he dreamed that a Methodist preacher rode up to his tent; and, on the following day, while he and his wife were picking and burning brush, they saw a stranger approaching on horseback. Mr. Cull said to his wife, 'Rachel, there's the preacher'; and throwing down his load of brush, he made for the stranger, grasped his hand, and inquired if he was not a Methodist preacher. It was no other than Rev. Arthur W. Elliott, who

¹Wiley, Allen, "Methodism in Southeastern Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII (1927), 37-38.

had . . . come across from Hamilton, Ohio, through the woods, without a road, to spy out the country for Christ.”²

Another phenomenon partaking of the miraculous was that of the six original members of Cull’s congregation on the Whitewater. Cull himself “fell asleep in Jesus . . . aged one hundred and four years and ten months.” Mrs. Meek and Mrs. Cull “bordered on ninety. Mr. [Peter] Weaver was in his ninety-seventh year, and Mr. [Jacob] Meek was nearing his ninety-ninth birthday.”³

Whitewater Methodist Circuit, extending from the Ohio northward to the Richmond neighborhood, was formed about 1807, and, in 1808, a chapel, Meek’s Meetinghouse, was built near Cull’s farm. The Reverend Joseph Williams, who was riding the Whitewater Circuit at that time, preached the first sermon there. Another early Methodist congregation on the Upper Whitewater was at Cain’s Meetinghouse, a few miles northwest of Richmond where many famous exhorters preached. Noteworthy among them was Augustus Jocelyn, whose sermon on the text “the dog is returned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire,” is said to have “made an impression on the minds of some who heard it that time can never erase. O, the dreadful state of the backslider as portrayed by the preacher of that day!”⁴

Another early congregation was at Dublin, sixteen miles west of Richmond. Among its roll of devout members was “Grandfather” Parsons, “the leading temperance man in the community. . . . a power for good wherever he went in promoting reform.” Parsons’ methods were apparently as direct as those of Carrie Nation, and even more effective. The Reverend John L. Smith tells of a time when “parties in Cambridge and Dublin were preparing to erect a large distillery equidistant from the two villages. They had purchased building material and machinery involving an outlay of several thousand

² Quoted in Holliday, Fernandez C., *Indiana Methodism* . . . (Cincinnati, 1873), p. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 182; Smith, *Indiana Miscellany*, pp. 65-67.

dollars, when they were informed by Father Parsons, in a very emphatic way, that if they persisted in building the distillery he would burn it to ashes. At first they paid little heed. . . . Day after day work on the building proceeded; day after day he repeated his threat. Finally he told the proprietors that he had burned one large distillery in New York, and was now just waiting for an opportunity to destroy one in Indiana. The parties wrote to New York for information, and, finding that the old gentleman had burned a distillery as he said, and that he had been acquitted by the courts on the ground of insanity, they determined to abandon the enterprise."⁵

Another of the members of the Dublin congregation whom Smith mentions is "Mother Hood," who "raised a respectable family, died in the faith, and went shouting home to heaven."⁶

One of the most impressive of the early ministers to the Whitewater Circuit, according to the Reverend Allen Wiley,⁷ was Thomas Hellum, "a tall, raw-boned, hollow-eyed man, who dressed according to the Methodist preacher fashion of that day, namely round-breasted coat, long vest with the corners cut off, short breaches, and long stockings, with his hair turned back from about midway between the forehead and the crown, and permitted to grow down to the shoulders. He had a most solemn and impressive countenance, and his subjects of discourse were usually of a grave and pathetic cast; and they were rendered much more pathetic by his manner of delivering them. The intonations of his voice were as solemn as death, and usually the large tears dropped from his face most of the time while he was preaching."

When the Methodists sought to enter Richmond proper, they met with hostility. On their first attempt, in 1822, "the Friends, considering that any of their families would be disgraced by attending Methodist meetings," prevented the Methodists from obtaining the use of any private house, and later, when the handful of Richmond Methodists got permission

⁵ Smith, John L., *Indiana Methodism* . . . (Valparaiso, Ind., 1892), pp. 91-92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

⁷ Wiley, "Methodism in Southeastern Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII, 35-36.

to use the local schoolhouse, the opposition from the Friends and infidels became so powerful that, according to Holliday, the little congregation was refused further use of the school. An attempt in 1825 to resume preachings brought attacks on the ground that the Methodist preachers were "a hireling ministry," their congregations a "shouting membership;" nevertheless, services were held in the residence of Isaac Jackson. Even when the Richmond Methodists, considerably increased in number, built their own meetinghouse in 1831, "the quiet, formal worshiper" and "the sinner, sleeping in his sins on the verge of perdition" again conspired against their gaining a solid foothold by spreading the report that smallpox was raging in Eaton, Ohio, the home of the visiting minister. Large numbers, however, appeared at the service and were converted, thereby creating "a great commotion among the infidel portion of the community and the staid Friends, who thought the work was too speedily accomplished to be from God. . . ."⁸

One lively bit of Whitewater Methodist lore is given in the memoirs of the Reverend Stephen R. Beggs, who was assigned to the Wayne Circuit in 1828. A convert to Methodism could choose between three methods of baptism—pouring, sprinkling, or immersion. One of Beggs's female converts at Richmond having chosen the last method, he administered the rite in the Whitewater, "the first time the waters of the forest stream had served that holy purpose," and thereby brought on another Friends-Methodist incident. "As we went down to the stream," says Beggs, "it was just at the close of a Quarterly meeting held by the Quakers. Some of them were on their way home, and had to cross the stream just below the place which I had chosen for the rite. They stopped in the stream to witness the sight, it being the first that had ever taken place in that region. Some of the young Quaker boys ran, whooped and hallooed as if they were going to a fair. So great was the curiosity of the people, that they had collected by hundreds at the water's edge, and stood from fifteen to twenty deep along the shore. One man took up a large boy and waded several feet into the water, that he might have a better view. As I was leading the sister

⁸ Holliday, *Indiana Methodism*, pp. 187-88, 189-90.

out, I found that this man had roiled the water, and I asked him to change his position; he did so by going farther into the stream. After the immersion, the sister came out, shouting and praising the Lord.

"As an instance of the rudeness of the times, I heard, mingled with these sounds, also the shouts of laughter from some of the bystanders; and on turning to see from whence they came, I discovered that the man in the water had made a misstep, and had with his boy fallen backward into the water; I waved my hand, all were quiet, but none seemed sorry."⁹

The uncordiality of the Friends seems to have been primarily a manifestation of the familiar attitude of the contented arrived to the aspiring newcomer. The sedateness, wealth, and social standing of so many of the Methodists today make it difficult to realize that Elder Wiley was serious in warning his "highly excitable" brethren not to neglect their ordinary food and rest during periods of religious exaltation, citing the case of sister Meek of the Kentucky settlement near Richmond, who had become "ecstatic in her feelings, perhaps little inferior to the ecstasy of heaven. She continued in this state about three weeks, day and night, in which time she scarcely ate, drank, or slept any. This state, however, was too much for a mortal body with brain and nerves; for it was found when her ecstasy began to subside, her mind was unbalanced and she became a maniac, and so remained for many years." Or that he should have thought it worthy of remark that by around 1810 persons in even "what are called the higher walks of life," began to join the Methodist church.¹⁰ In a similar vein Beggs remarks that the father of "the Misses K." of Richmond had "taken great pains to educate and prepare his daughters to move in the first circles in society, not dreaming that they would ever become Methodists."¹¹

Despite their possible excesses, the Methodists were the

⁹ Beggs, Stephen R., *Pages from the Early History of the West and North-West* . . . (Cincinnati, 1868), pp. 78-79.

¹⁰ Wiley, "Methodism in Southeastern Indiana," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII, 46, 53.

¹¹ Beggs, *Pages from the Early History of the West and North-West*, p. 77.

means of bringing much happiness and spiritual comfort, not only to those having no previous church connection, but to members of other churches, including Friends. A remarkable instance of this appears in the memoirs of Henry Hoover,¹² a birthright Quaker and, along with his elder brother David, one of the most prominent men on the Upper Whitewater. Writing of his conversion to Methodism, six years after the event, Hoover said: "On the first of August 1842 a Camp-Meeting was held near my residence. I attended the opening services, and a few of the succeeding days. On the 10th being Sabbath evening, I returned to my house leaving my family on the ground. As the evening shades appeared, my mind became troubled. I could hear the singing and the shouting at the Meeting tho' one mile distant, . . . and I sought a retreat, for . . . prayer. . . . It produced a calmness to my mind, my soul was filled with love. . . .

"On Monday morning, I early appeared on the Camp-ground. . . . morning service commenced with an exhortation by Augustus Eddy . . . who in conclusion call'd on the mourners to come to the alter,—I felt myself a mourner,—I felt the call as particularly appli'd to myself. I could not feign indifference. . . . [but] the idea of deliberately arising from my seat, with my tears flowing, and marching in the face of hundreds to the mourners bench was a severe trial . . . I accordingly arose, and walked outside the tents. . . . I . . . found my companion [wife] in search of me, melted in tears, we approached and gave our hands to the Elder and then kneeled with many others at the Alter. . . .

"This scene may be viewed by some as rather ridiculous. . . . To such I would barely answer, that they are strangers to the grace of God, are not competent judges; and in their present condition cannot understand the evidence without an interpreter. I can truly adopt the language of the poet when he says,

¹² Hoover, Henry, "Sketches and Incidents." Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library.

One day in such a place is worth,
 a thousand other days,
 Tis here I date my second birth,
 my souls own native place.

When I rose to my feet, the brightness of the day, was astonishing to me, a silvery whiteness shone all around the encampment. I had the most intense desire to see my relations, especially my Brother David . . . I wanted . . . him to seek salvation with me. . . .

My life, I had my seasons of doubtings,—of unbelief, but I saw clearly, the beauty of the Gospel. . . .”

The major sects were represented in one place or another along the Whitewater in the pioneer days. As we have seen, “good old Harper,” who aided the Moravian missionaries in 1800 was an “active Presbyterian,” and the Presbyterians organized a church at Harrison as early as 1811. Later, members of this church, mostly from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had substantial congregations in and near Brookville. In 1837 a Presbyterian church was organized in Richmond, with which the Congregationalists, after a brief struggle to make independent headway, combined. The Universalists and Campbellites also had considerable strength.

The Baptists were early in the field. They had a meeting-house on Dry Fork of Whitewater, in southwestern Ohio, before 1805; soon after, they had a considerable congregation at little Cedar Grove Creek, a few miles south of Brookville, and by 1800 a Whitewater Association of Baptists was formed. They were not the militant body then that they later became, and it was not until much later that they seriously competed with the Whitewater Methodists in proselyting the local “infidels.” The Lutherans and Catholics, later numerous and powerful, did not become strong until after the pioneer period. The Shakers had a small colony on Dry Fork, the Universalists were strong in Fayette County, and the German Baptist Society (Dunkers) were numerous on upper West Fork around Hagerstown. Until in the fifties, however, the Methodists and Friends had things pretty much their own way.

JOSEPH TARKINGTON

THOUGH SEEMING to play upon the more amusing aspects of Methodism in the Whitewater, I do not mean to ignore its accomplishments or to scoff at its pioneer ministers, who were untiring and faithful, a real influence for good. The *Autobiography* of one of them, the Reverend Joseph Tarkington, grandfather of Booth, is an outstanding volume of early Hoosier reminiscences and stories of the life of a Methodist circuit rider.¹

Joseph Tarkington's father and mother moved to southern Indiana from central Tennessee in the fall of 1815 when he was fifteen. Their story is similar to that of thousands of families, including the Lincolns, that flocked into southern Indiana from Tennessee and Kentucky after the War of 1812. "As soon as the meat began to fry for supper, the wolves commenced howling," on the first night that the Tarkingtons crossed the Ohio from Kentucky to Indiana. The first year the family squatted on some land at the site of Edwardsport on the White River, built a log house, grazed their cows in the river bottoms, and let the hogs get fat on the acorns and hickory nuts in the surrounding woods.

The next year father Tarkington bought a quarter section of land in Monroe County, not far from the site of Indiana University, and the family moved there. "We paddled and poled our pirogue, with what goods could be put in it, up White River . . . to the mouth of Richland Creek, and there made a deposit," wrote Joseph. ". . . It took us a week to go up." Joseph then returned to their old home and helped bring a wagon loaded with the rest of their goods and their hogs and cattle back to the landing.

Of this expedition Joseph wrote: "The first day we came to the log-cabin of Zeb. Hogue. The hogs were put in a pen,

¹ *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington, One of the Pioneer Methodist Preachers of Indiana* . . . (Cincinnati, 1899). All of the quotations in this chapter are from this book.

and the cattle ran out with the bell-leader at night. With a cold breakfast of bread and meat the next morning, we were off before daylight on the Indian trail. We had often to cut the way for the wagon through the brush. . . . The smaller children slept in the wagon, the rest of the family on the ground. . . . Father had blazed the trees for three miles from the deposit to the trail in the direction he thought we would come. The snow was ten inches deep. . . . From the deposit we had thirty miles to go, and no road. . . . On the first day from the deposit, three miles out, we came to a hill, where we had to unload the wagon, and carry the goods upon our shoulders. At night we piled brush on the snow, then on that our deer and bearskins, and slept. . . .

"The second night after leaving the deposit we bedded ourselves as on the previous night, and called the place where we stopped 'Johnny-cake Camp,' from the fact that we cut a large chip out of a hickory-tree, and baked our bread on it by the log-heap fire. The third night was passed as the former; but it turned warmer, and rained in the night, so that mother and the smaller children got in the wagon. . . .

"The fourth day we [came]. . . . to the land father had purchased, and in the middle of this land we stopped, and built a camp on the banks of the branch. . . . We then built a cabin on the north end of the land, near a running-out spring: but having discovered the 'cave-spring,' which was of pure water, welling up among large rocks, the next fall we moved down near it, and built a good house, which became the home of father and mother until their death."

The elder Tarkingtons, though baptized in the Episcopal Church, were not churchgoers. Joseph was converted to Methodism at a camp meeting near his home in 1820. When his mother heard of his conversion, she was much moved, saying she had been "converted at the time the earth shook in Tennessee in 1811; that she had backslidden from not joining Church and making a profession of it, and so had put her light under a bushel." To Joseph she said, through her tears, "Hold fast to your profession," and he obeyed her injunction. He joined the church and studied the doctrinal books, and spoke from

time to time at Sunday prayer meetings. Four years after his conversion he was called by the presiding elder of the Indiana circuit as assistant to the preacher in charge. He does not mention his pay, if any, in this post, but in a later year he received a salary of \$9.00 and a pair of trousers, and his horse and he were fed and sheltered free of charge by members of the churches on their circuit.

The circuit rider's life was one of almost constant movement and, in winter, of great hardship. "We thought out our sermons," says Tarkington, "as we rode from place to place, eight to fifteen miles each day to the preaching-place. After preaching and leading class, we often rode several miles to dine. At night there was hardly ever good light—firelight, or a little tin lamp, fastened to the side of the room in a log, supplied with lard or bear's-grease. I used to carry candles, cut in two, in a tin box, and so would read until bedtime by candle-light, and get up often at four o'clock in the morning and read until the family arose. . . . The life in the air, the motion of riding, the movement of your horse, the variety of the way, keeps you alive, awake, and there is apt to be life in a sermon that you ride with."

Tarkington described religion in those early days as being "very vigorous," especially in the case of women, and his evidence is convincing. "I have," he says, "seen the women shouting, and, in bending backwards, their hair would stream down, touching the floor. It seemed that they would break their backs. Some would have the jerks. No two men could hold them still. The holders would be thrown down. The best way to treat them was to get out of their way, . . . and only see that they did not hurt themselves. There is something in the jerks unexplainable. I asked Mrs. John Givens, who at times had them, to explain what they were. She said that, when she felt like shouting praises to God, if she did it willingly, she did not have them; but when she resisted shouting, which she said she had done until the blood ran out of her nose, then the jerks came, and were very hard with her." The fact that Mrs. Givens was a Presbyterian indicates that the "shakes" were not limited to the Methodists.

The effects of an aroused desire for salvation were not always so happy as in the case of Henry Hoover, recounted in the preceding chapter. Shortly after Tarkington's own conversion, he tried at a camp meeting to win over a neighbor, Campbell Berry. But the latter "stood looking on in stubborn silence" until his wife "who could pray like a saint, led in prayer." Berry then "commenced crying; from a low murmur, his voice grew louder and louder, higher and higher, till he could be heard a mile." His "grief seemed unutterable, he found no relief," Tarkington commented. "He went to Texas and died there."

In 1829, Tarkington was transferred to Rushville circuit, which included part of the Whitewater Valley, and shortly after his marriage in 1831, to Maria Slauson of Switzerland County, he was appointed to the Wayne circuit. His headquarters were at Centerville, where Booth Tarkington's father, John, was born. By this time Tarkington's salary had been advanced to \$144 a year. High salaries such as this were paid largely in produce, which yielded far less in cash than the figure at which it was appraised by the donors. Like all Methodist circuit riders of the day, he was moved to a new circuit every two or three years, and in the eighteen years that he remained on or near the Whitewater he lived at Centerville, Brownsville, Lawrenceburg, Richmond, Liberty, and Brookville.

By the time Tarkington arrived in Richmond in 1839—the year the stars fell in eastern Indiana—the Methodists had made considerable headway and opposition from the Friends was dying down. Some of the Quaker children were even permitted to venture into the Sunday night services at the Methodist Church, and Tarkington remembered seeing "the little smooth white caps close by the door, and sometimes they got to the altar of prayer." Moreover, when he was dangerously ill "with sinking chills" contracted at a camp meeting, one of the leading Richmond Friends, Mark E. Reeves, "was very kind and attentive," stayed with Tarkington during the critical nights of his sickness and, as soon as he was able to step out, took him riding in his carriage every day for weeks. (As a token of appreciation, the Tarkingtons named the son born to them soon afterwards, William Simeon Reeves Tarkington.)

While Tarkington was living in Centerville for a second time, the terrible cholera epidemic of 1843 broke out. The Reverend Augustus Jocelyn, famous itinerant preacher from the East, came to Centerville, "lecturing on hygiene, medicines, treatment, etc., saying cholera could be prevented by them. But he was disappointed," says Tarkington, "for he died with seven of his pills in him."

Tarkington joined with the Friends and Jonathan Shaw, a Whitewater lay preacher, in taking a stand against drinking at a time when the Methodists generally held back from the prohibition movement. Shaw was one of the warmest exhorters in the circuit. When he got going, he would "stretch up high on tiptoe, with arms extended, and then suddenly double up, or rather down, stoop down, and spring from one end of the pulpit to the other." At a service in Boston, near Richmond, preaching on the text "Wine is a Mocker," Shaw "flirted clean out of that pulpit, and down to the floor on his hands and knees into the congregation." But, adds Tarkington, "he had the nerve to finish his sermon. And he lived to hear people say he was right in his views all the time."²

During his two years at Richmond, Tarkington was a "stationed" minister, that is, he occupied but a single, regular pulpit. But all the rest of his time on the Whitewater his main congregation was only one of a great many which he was required to serve regularly—the home pulpit on Sunday, the others during the week. The Centerville circuit, for example, embraced twenty-one congregations, including such widely scattered points as Abington, Boston, Doddridge's Chapel, Economy, Newport, and Hagerstown.

Tarkington liked living on the Whitewater and wished to stay there, but God, in the guise of his presiding bishop, was otherwise disposed. In 1847, upon the retirement of the presiding elder of the Vincennes District, Tarkington was

² The "teetotaler" movement, begun in the 1820's, reached its climax on the Upper Whitewater, as elsewhere, with the advent of the "Washingtonian" itinerant preachers in the 1840's. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, pp. 105-6. Considering the impressive size of George Washington's wine and liquor bills, retained among his papers, the choice of name by these early advocates of prohibition was somewhat paradoxical.

appointed to his place, and though he later covered many a mile of Whitewater road raising money for Indiana Asbury (De Pauw) University, he never lived on the river again. He died at Greensburg, Indiana, in 1861.

THE NATIONAL ROAD

FEW THINGS were so important to a pioneer settlement remote from navigable water as its wagon roads. Yet such roads were few in number and almost invariably abominable. Such was the case in the Upper Whitewater Valley,¹ and the citizens of Wayne County must therefore have read with joyful interest their *Richmond Public Leger* of March 17, 1827. The paper announced that Jonathan Knight, chief surveyor of the celebrated National Road, had reported to General Alexander Macomb, chief of the Engineering Corps of the United States Army: "After the random lines and reconnoissances were prosecuted to Indianapolis, it was determined, on full view of the subject, that such were the circumstances of the ground and waters, lying on and near to a straight line, the location should pass through Springfield, the seat of justice for Clark county, Ohio; Richmond, in Indiana and Centreville, the Seat of Justice for Wayne county, Indiana."

Knight's orders were to run the line from Columbus to Indianapolis, in as direct a line as practicable. Richmond lay two miles south of this line, but Knight, a good Quaker, pre-

¹ Luther M. Feeger, business manager of the *Richmond Palladium-Item* and president of the Wayne County Historical Society, has collected much interesting information on the early roads of the region in "Travels in Wayne County," in *Richmond Municipal Airport Dedication Program*, July 4-5, 1945 (Richmond, Ind. [1945]).

As late as 1836, Jacob Schramm, writing of a journey from Cincinnati via Brookville to his farm southeast of Indianapolis, says: "In the end there was nothing but such a terrible corduroy road, that we would have had soul and breath shaken out of us if we had not traveled at a slow walk. The road took us through an endless virgin forest, with a light spot here and there that was mostly swamp. Then it would plunge again into the darkness of the trees. Although in Germany I loved the solitude of the forest, this was too much for me." Vonnegut, Emma S. (ed. and trans.), *The Schramm Letters . . .* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, XI, No. 4, Indianapolis, 1935), p. 264.

The remarks of Aaron White and Branson Harris concerning the deplorable conditions of the roads on the Upper Whitewater indicate that they were, in general, no better than the one described by Schramm.

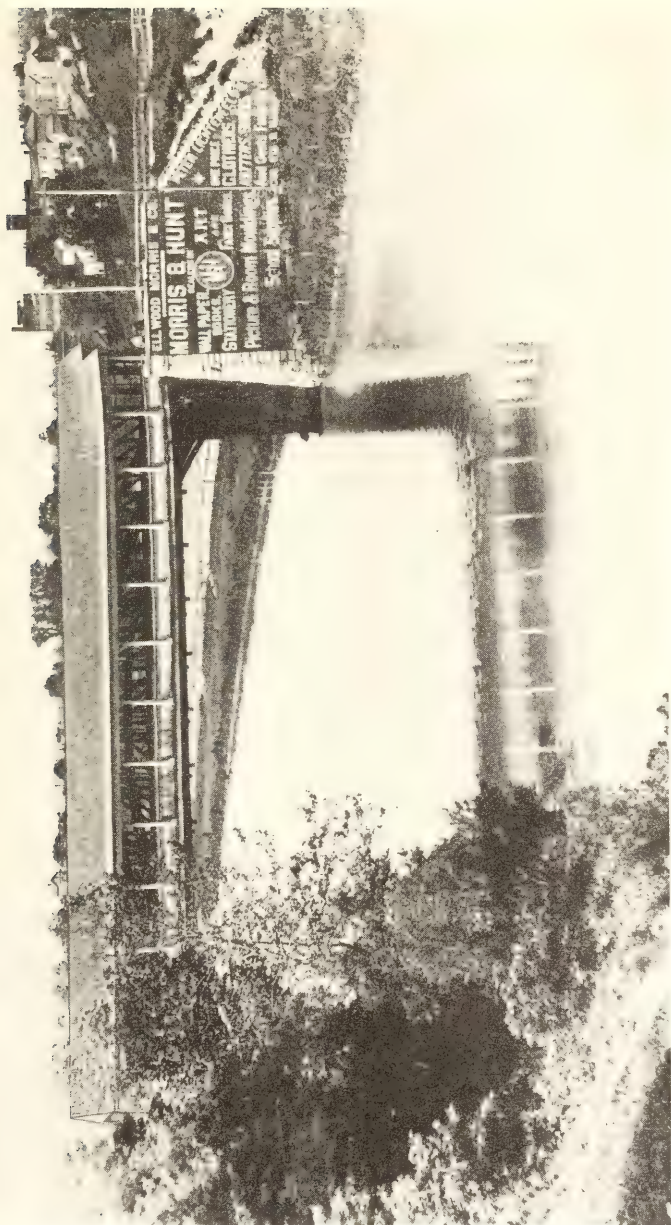
sumably had no difficulty in finding reasons for the slight deviation required to run the road past the headquarters of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

The National Road—"the Road" to all Westerners—the greatest nonmilitary undertaking of the Federal Government prior to the Civil War, was initiated by President Jefferson and Congress in 1806 by an act providing for a wide, graded, and well-surfaced road from Cumberland, Maryland, through Pennsylvania and the panhandle of Virginia, now West Virginia, to a point on the Ohio River at or near Wheeling. This part of the road, traveled over and described by Aaron White in 1829, was practically completed in 1819 at a cost of over a million and a half dollars. In 1820 Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the rough survey of a proposed extension of the Cumberland Road, as the initial stretch of the National Road was called, to the most suitable point on the east bank of the Mississippi between St. Louis and the mouth of the Illinois River. Five years later, at the end of Monroe's administration Congress appropriated \$150,000, to construct the road as far west as Zanesville, Ohio, and to make detailed surveys for the proposed road as far west as Jefferson City, capital of Missouri. This was the appropriation which brought Knight and his assistant surveyors to the banks of the Whitewater in 1826.²

Millions of dollars were appropriated and spent by the Federal Government, during the next twelve years, on extending the Road to the Mississippi, yet it was not completed all the way until in the fifties, when private turnpike companies took over the work.³ It was the principal mail route from Washington to St. Louis, with branch lines running north and south to Cincinnati, Detroit, and other major settlements in the Northwest. In my boyhood, a favorite theme of the old-timers was the mail coach, heralded by a far-sounding bugle, galloping with its six horses to the post office door, disgorging its sack

² See Burns, Lee, *The National Road in Indiana* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VII, No. 4, Indianapolis, 1919).

³ The twenty-two miles of the road that lies in Wayne County were surfaced in 1850 by the Wayne County Turnpike Company. Tolls were, of course, collected and yielded the stockholders of the company an excellent income on their investment. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, p. 107.



NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE OVER THE WHITEWATER AT RICHMOND, 1892

of mail, and dashing away to the next relay station. The Road was also a great route for freighting and droving. At night, at one of the inns along the way, as one traveler wrote, there might be "thirty six-horse teams on the wagon yard, one hundred Kentucky mules in an adjacent lot, one thousand hogs in other enclosures, and as many fat cattle from Illinois in adjoining fields. The music made by this large number of hogs, in eating corn on a frosty night," he added, "I will never forget. After supper and attention to the teams, the wagoners would gather in the bar room and listen to music on the violin, furnished by one of their fellows, have a 'Virginia hoe-down,' sing songs, tell anecdotes, and hear the experience of drivers and drovers from all points on the road, and when it was all over, unroll their beds, lay them down on the floor before the bar room fire, side by side, and sleep, with their feet near the fire, as soundly as under the paternal roof."⁴

It was the thoroughfare to the West. The May 24, 1834, issue of the *Richmond Palladium* reported, "A caravan of about two hundred Mormonites with a long train of wagons passed through this place on their way to the 'far west.' There were but few women among them, and the men generally (if not all) supplied with fire arms. A stout, hardy set of looking fellows they were too, and many of them quite intelligent. From their equipments it has been suspected that they intend joining and defending their brethren in Jackson county, Missouri. They professed to be in search of new lands, whereon to form a settlement, either in Illinois or farther west."

In September, 1836, the *Palladium* announced that a hundred immigrant wagons a day had passed through Richmond the preceding week. Joseph John Gurney, the traveling Friends minister, wrote to Amelia Opie an account of his journey along this road and his reflections on the import of the great western migration.⁵ "On the 23rd of the 9th Month (Sept.) 1837, I set out [from Steubenville, Ohio] for my journey to Indiana by the National Western road—a macada-

⁴ Quoted in Searight, Thomas B., *The Old Pike. A History of the National Road* . . . (Uniontown, Pa., 1894), p. 142.

⁵ Gurney, *Journey in North America* . . . , pp. 27-35.

mized turnpike, and a perfect contrast to the rough and almost dangerous ways by which I had been travelling since I entered the state at the beginning of the month. I was conveyed in one of the homely but comfortable wagons of the country, a light carriage on springs, drawn by two good horses, and fraught with other conveniences. It belonged to the kind and intelligent friend who undertook, from pure love to the cause in which I was engaged, to be my driver and companion."

Two days' journey, eighty-two miles, brought them to Reynoldsburg.

"From Reynoldsburg we proceeded, before breakfast, to Columbus, the seat of government—a baby metropolis bursting into life, and already making some show of magnificence, though at present with a population of only a few thousands. . . .

"After spending an interesting morning at Columbus, we took our afternoon stage to Jefferson, still on the national road, where we held a meeting in a little chapel belonging to the Methodists, who seem to be the leading religionists in these small places. At our *pot-house* breakfast, early the next morning, our table was supplied with venison steaks, fried chicken and ham, molasses, preserved cherries, etc.—one of the usual indications of the plentifulness of the country. . . . At Jefferson we were compelled to desert the national road, which was no further in a finished state; our route lay over a flat country and through fine woods—the road intensely bad and muddy. It was in this part of my journey that I caught a glimpse of the natural prairies of America—rich and beautiful meadows, with which the forest is here interspersed. . . .

"The day's journey which I am now describing, brought us to Springfield, a rising town of considerable importance, where we held a public meeting for worship and were kindly entertained at the house of an opulent friend. . . . Thus were we prepared for the somewhat tedious journey of two more days, through a half-cultivated country, until we reached the pleasant town of Richmond, on the White Water River, in the eastern part of the state of Indiana.

"The next night we lodged in a miserable house of entertainment by the road-side, which was crowded with persons travelling westward, and almost intolerable was the bundling. Undoubtedly the most interesting and surprising circumstance which engaged my attention, during this journey on the main route to the westward, was the unparalleled scene of movement—all in one direction—of which we were witnesses. 'Westward, westward speed thy way,' seemed to be the common motto. I am wholly unable to conjecture what might be the number of wagons, all of large dimensions, and filled with the sturdy families of the east, which we overtook as they were making their slow but sure progress towards the wilderness of Indiana, Illinois, or possibly Wisconsin. . . . Sometimes these moving families would fill the houses of entertainment by the road-side at night. More frequently, however, we observed them bivouacking, for the night's lodging, in some convenient spot under the shelter of the woods.

"Here it is only fair to remark that this perpetual move to the westward is by no means always attended with success. Occasionally we observed a wagonload of these migratory people returning eastward. . . . dejection and disappointment . . . marked on their countenances. . . . One could not witness the scenes which I have now described, without many a reflection on the floating and uncertain circumstances to which we are all liable in this state of discipline and change. In the mean time, who can calculate what will be the ultimate diffusion and greatness of the people of the United States?"

This was the heyday of the Road. Yet, even in its decline, the Road never ceased to be an important artery of local travel, and, with the advent of the automobile, it came into its own again as Route 40.

THE WHITEWATER CANAL

THE ERIE CANAL was one of the most successful public enterprises ever undertaken in the United States, but its very success let loose a frenzy of canal building which seriously crippled the public finances of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, and bankrupted the state of Indiana. Every so often the American people, or a large part of them, seem impelled to go on a gigantic spending spree. Sometimes it is by way of private hazard, such as the land speculations which brought disaster to Robert Morris, General Knox, and other Revolutionary fathers. At other times it takes the form of extravagant public enterprise, which, when the frenzy is over, is recognized as having been visionary. Whitewater Canal was of the latter variety.

With roads as bad as they were in the early days, it was inevitable that residents of the Whitewater Valley should give thought to the possibilities of diverting the water of their shallow, rocky, tumbling river into the channel of a deeper rock-free and placid canal, and, in August, 1825, delegates from Dearborn, Franklin, Wayne, Union, and Fayette counties met at Harrison, on the Indiana-Ohio border, to discuss the possibilities of building a canal down the Whitewater.¹ The next year United States Senator William Hendricks of Indiana, chairman of the Senate Committee on Roads and Canals, recommended that the possibility of uniting the Wabash and Miami rivers with the Ohio by a canal through the Whitewater Valley be explored by the War Department.²

The report on this project, submitted in 1829 by Colonel Howard Stansbury of the United States Engineers, declared the project impracticable,³ and, but for the sensational success of the Erie Canal and the consequent race for canals throughout

¹ Miller, James M., "The Whitewater Canal," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, III (1907), 108.

² U. S. *Senate Documents*, 19 Congress, 1 session, no. 8.

³ *Indiana House Journal*, 1829-30, Appendix, p. 8.

the country, the question might never have been revived. However, the stories (largely true) of the great return to the state of New York on its investment in the Erie Canal, the phenomenal increase in real estate values along the canal, and the tremendous reduction in the cost of transporting farm products to Albany and New York City dazzled the citizens of the hinterland. If only the farmers of the Whitewater and the Wabash could secure a similar outlet for their products, the villages at strategic points along the rivers would become entrepôts for the vast commerce that would ensue, and the Hoosier state as a whole would soon be rolling in wealth—so the optimists thought and said.

Unfortunately, there was little liquid capital in Indiana, and eastern capitalists were not as much interested in the speculative securities of private western canal companies as in investments nearer home. The public credit of the states of the Northwest was, however, good, and state bonds might well be marketed in Philadelphia, then the financial center of the country, in New York, or elsewhere in the East. In January, 1836, the Indiana legislature took the plunge and authorized the appointment of a Board of Commissioners to borrow up to \$10,000,000 at interest "not exceeding five percent." for a mammoth project of state improvements. This sweeping measure included the macadamizing of the road from New Albany to Vincennes and the resurvey of the route between Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville; a railroad from Madison through Indianapolis to Lafayette; improvement of the Wabash River; construction of the Central Canal from a point on the Wabash River between Logansport and Fort Wayne through Indianapolis to Evansville; and extension of the Wabash and Erie Canal. It also provided for the construction of a canal from Cambridge City, where the National Road crosses West Fork of Whitewater, to Brookville, junction of the two forks of Whitewater, and from there to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio. At Lawrenceburg, the pork and flour of eastern Indiana could be transhipped to river vessels bound for the warehouses and ocean-going vessels at New Orleans.

On the day when this thrilling news reached Brookville there

was great rejoicing. In the evening the event was celebrated "with speaking by prominent men, all buildings, public and private, being illuminated, and long rows of lights placed on the fences along Meirs Street. A long procession . . . amid the ringing of bells, beating of drums and roaring of cannon, marched through the streets to the inspiring strains of a band of music. . . . the cannon boomed till daylight."⁴

Connersville, the largest village up West Fork, greeted the news with similar manifestations of joy, though the celebration was marred there by the premature explosion of a festive cannon, which killed one youth and terribly injured three others.

In September, 1836, ground for the first section of the canal, from Brookville to Lawrenceburg, was broken at Brookville by Governor Noah Noble to the accompaniment of a recitation by John Finley, the Hoosier poet, of lines written especially for the occasion. Less than three years later, the "Ben Franklin" of Lawrenceburg, the first boat to operate on the canal, arrived a little below Brookville, where the exulting citizens unhitched the tugging mules and drew the boat by hand to the town landing. A month later a Whitewater-built packet, appropriately called "The Native," was added to the run from Brookville to Lawrenceburg, and rosy visions of greatness were seen in the approaching days, when completion of the northern section of the canal would make Brookville the shipping center of the whole of eastern Indiana.⁵

This vision was clouded, however, in the fall of 1839, by an abrupt official announcement that the canal could not be completed from Brookville northward, because the state was penniless and had exhausted its credit. The contractors and workmen thrown out of employment were dumbfounded. Considering that the annual interest charges on the state debt were around \$600,000, compared with an annual state revenue of less than \$50,000, and that the receipts from the public enterprises

⁴ Miller, "The Whitewater Canal," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, III, 110.

⁵ There is information about the canal as well as about other early developments in the neighborhood of Brookville in Reifel, August J., *History of Franklin County Indiana* . . . (B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., Indianapolis, 1915), pp. 245-63.

were less than the cost of upkeep, the surprising thing is not that the work was suddenly stopped, but that it had continued so long.

The traffic and tolls on the section of the canal from Brookville to Lawrenceburg proved meager. Trade continued to flow mainly in the old channel, on hoof or by wagon along the dusty or muddy roads, from Richmond and the other villages of the valley, not to Lawrenceburg, but to Cincinnati. Three projects, however, buoyed the spirits of those who had foreseen a dazzling future for the canal. The first was the construction of a privately owned canal down East Fork from Richmond to Brookville; the second, the projected construction of a spur from Harrison, below Brookville, to Cincinnati; the third, the completion by private capital of the proposed section up West Fork to the National Road.

The Richmond and Brookville Canal Company, incorporated in 1838 to build a canal along East Fork, had secured many stock subscriptions, and some paid-in capital at that time. But it had made little progress in construction, presumably because the East Fork merchants and farmers, however canal crazy, realized that they could not compete with the projected state canal only a few miles to the west. The state having abandoned that enterprise, the promoters of the East Fork canal now bestirred themselves. They contended that it "would be the channel through which all the trade of one of the most populous, fertile, and wealthy regions of the western country would pass. Richmond, situated at the head of navigation, with its vast water power, extensive *capital*, and enterprising inhabitants, might become the Pittsburgh of Indiana; . . . the whole country, within its reach would be invigorated; [and] new sources of trade . . . now unknown or lying dormant for the want of an outlet, would be developed."⁶

Demands were made on subscribers for the cash due on their unpaid stock subscriptions, and the General Assembly was asked for special tax relief. The legislature was unimpressed,

⁶ *Report of the Select Committee in Relation to the Richmond and Brookville Canal Company*, in *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1840-41, House Documents, No. 29, p. 364.

and a knockout blow was given to the East Fork canal in 1847 by a flood which swept away most of the work that had been done on it.

The Harrison-Cincinnati branch was a far more promising project. Though the trade of the valley could not be diverted from flourishing Cincinnati to the small and stagnant village of Lawrenceburg, there was good reason to believe that the building of a canal from the Whitewater to Cincinnati would greatly stimulate trade and produce a rich harvest of tolls for the canal. The main drawback was the construction of a tunnel, involving engineering difficulties and heavy expense, to carry the canal through a range of hills at North Bend between Harrison and Cincinnati. Private capital, aided by a stock subscription from the State of Ohio and the Cincinnati local government, surmounted all difficulties and opened the spur in 1843. Though yielding no profits to its stockholders, the traffic over this branch was heavy, as indicated by the fact that during the month of January, 1851, among other things, 19,522 barrels of flour, 1,131,218 pounds of "bulk pork" and 92,380 feet of lumber were carried over it.⁷

As to the West Fork project, the state, in 1842, conveyed its right of way and improvements, on which it had spent about \$350,000, to a private corporation, the Whitewater Valley Canal Company. The transfer was on condition that the company raise \$400,000 and complete the canal to the National Road at Cambridge City. The canal was completed in 1846, and in 1847 a branch line, constructed with local capital by the Hagerstown Canal Company, was opened from Cambridge City to Hagerstown.

A first-hand account of a trip down this canal is found in Henry Shombre's diary⁸ of his trip to Cincinnati on his way to the gold fields in '49. Shombre was an eager youth in his early twenties. He came from Philomath, a flourishing little

⁷ Cist, Charles, *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851* (Cincinnati, 1851), pp. 142-43.

⁸ Photostat copy in the Indiana Division, Indiana State Library; original in possession of Malcolm Shombre Smith, Topeka, Kansas. The diary was published serially in Kate Milner Rabb's column, "The Hoosier Listening Post," in the Indianapolis *Star* in June, 1934.

village ten miles southwest of Richmond in Union County.⁹

"March 19 [18] 1849. Hagerstown 9 O'clock. big crowd, boys tite. Connersville, crowd. Salute fired, gun in cabin shot through door. Some feel very bad—gals. one fell over & hurt his shin. music dans; coffee week.

"Monday 20 [19]. Woke in Laurel, fine morning. crowd come to see us. boys in fine spirits, lame man better. Shooting after breakfast. met Mr. Huet. Glad to see him. Boat reshiping . . . our boys little tite. feel better. help reship. took all day. Start at Sundown, run aground 2ce. Pilot got mad, swore, ript tore, snorted, about to leave, concluded to stay. all glad of it. banjo playing dancing, all fired a salute. some playing cards, some tite and full of fun.

"Tuesday 20. Boat made poor progress. last night run aground 7 times. reached Brookville at 6 A. M. lay by 2 hours. saw Mr. Miller of Fairfield with wife and family [bound] for California. one of the boys shot a goose. some of them tite. music & dancing . . . arrived at Harrison. the boys all armed on deck fired salute. the whole town came down to see us. lay there one hour. at night great trouble about beds, stowed on deck. Stealing blankets. lots of fun. get to sleep at 12 O'clock. . . .

"Wednesday 21. morning cloudy and cold. boys in good spirits. the goos for breakfast. . . . At 9 O'clock pass through the Harrison tunnel. Had a long talk with some of the boys about home and the boys feel a little bad but not much. Left the boat 5 miles above Cincinnati. Climbed to the top of the highest peak on the Ohio. . . . Arrived in Cincinnati 2 1/2 O'clock."

The canal was doomed to failure even before the railroads arrived to compete with it. The dams which fed the water from the river into the canal were strong enough to cope with the ordinary freshets, but every two or three years the river would go on a rampage, wash out the feeder dams and adjacent canal banks, disrupt traffic for months, and pile up costs for

⁹ Thanks to the presence of Jonathan Kidwell, a famous Universalist preacher, Philomath was a center of Universalism from 1833 to 1846. He established Western Union Seminary there, and published the *Philomath Encyclopedia* and *The Sentinel and Star in the West*.

repairs in excess of the entire gross revenue since the last washout. For some years the harassed stockholders maintained a stubborn fight against the river's ravages. But under dates of December 23 and 24, 1852, Elijah Coffin of Richmond noted in his diary, "It has rained most profusely, and for many hours together, insomuch that there is a very great freshet. The waters in the streams are higher than they have been for several years." On the 25th he wrote, "We hear of great damages by the high water; many bridges are injured, and some carried off; the railroads are injured, and their use temporarily suspended; and the Whitewater Canal is so greatly injured, that its being again repaired for use appears somewhat doubtful."¹⁰ As Coffin feared, the high water of 1852 proved to be the final blow. Appeals were again made to the stockholders for further contributions of capital but they, like the state before, had had enough.

The old towpath became the road bed for a railway from Cincinnati to Cambridge City, but the canal boats, and the hopes that centered upon them, passed into the limbo of the half-forgotten past. Several portions of the canal were made into mill races, and the section between Connersville and Milton is now used for developing hydro-electric power. At the Connersville end of the section, the canal is not far above the river, but northward, as the locks (at which the power is now developed) raise the canal to higher and higher levels, it reaches an elevation far above that of the neighboring fields and streams. In late June this spot is one of the most beautiful and satisfying imaginable. The banks of the canal, running straight as a die and covered with wild roses, tiger lilies, and elderberry blossoms, are pungent with the tangy scent of pennyroyal. To the west rise partly wooded hills, richly pastured and dotted with grazing cattle and sheep; to the east unfold mile upon mile of rolling farmlands, burgeoning with varicolored fields of ripening wheat, and oats, young corn, and garden plants.

No wonder that so many of the names on the mail boxes are the same as those on the oldest stones in the neighboring

¹⁰ *The Life of Elijah Coffin* . . . edited by Mary C. Johnson ([Cincinnati] E. Morgan & Sons, 1863), p. 106.

graveyards. Some of those who stayed on, generation after generation, were merely unimaginative, timid, or lethargic. Many of them must have had the instinct or wisdom to foresee that the satisfactions of wealth, fame, or intellectual achievement could not balance the sense of security and fulfillment implicit in the tillage of these beautiful and ever fruitful farm lands, handed down from father to son.

THE GERMANS REACH THE VALLEY

IN 1827 the Free City of Bremen in Germany received from William IV, the king of Hanover as well as of Great Britain, a grant of Hanoverian land for the establishment of a port near the mouth of the Weser. Three years later the port of Bremerhaven was opened to commerce, and soon became one of the great tobacco importing centers of continental Europe. Its trade with Baltimore was particularly active. The tobacco ships from Baltimore on discharging their cargoes needed return freights, and the low rates offered to secure a return load attracted thousands of emigrants from western Germany to America. There was a particularly large exodus from Hanover, where the revolutionary movement of 1830, spreading from Hanover's famous university of Göttingen to the towns and country, had engendered a widespread discontent but no reforms.

At this same time the extension of the National Road through western Ohio and Indiana created a brisk market for labor in the West, and many of the newcomers arriving at Baltimore proceeded immediately by foot or stagecoach to Wheeling and then down the river to Cincinnati, the great labor clearinghouse of the region. In August, 1834, the *Richmond Palladium* carried an announcement by the contractor for the National Road bridge across East Fork of Whitewater, offering "the highest price in cash for good laborers at the Richmond bridge on the Cumberland Road. Also, an additional number of stone cutters wanted, for which \$1.50 per day will be given for good workmen."¹

John Gerhard Petersen, recently arrived in Cincinnati from Astrup, near Osnabrück, Hanover, was a stonemason, and, within a few weeks after the appearance of the above advertisement, he was at work on the stonework of the bridge at Richmond. Peterson (for his name was soon Americanized) prospered, and married Eliza Hunt, the eighteen-year-old

¹ Quoted in *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), p. 4.

daughter of a well-known Quaker couple, Abner and Susannah Hunt. The minutes of the White Water Monthly Meeting of Women Friends record that on November 28, 1838, "White Water preparative meeting informs that Eliza Peterson, formerly Hunt, has accomplished her marriage contrary to discipline" and that two women were "appointed to treat with her." Eliza seems to have shown proper contrition for her lapse, for the minutes of the succeeding meeting state that her examiners "report that they have attended to the appointment, and she produced an acknowledgment which this meeting is free to accept."

Peterson presumably wrote home glowing letters, for soon not only his widowed mother, his sister Ellen, and several other members of his own family came to the distant Whitewater, but also many others from Astrup and neighboring villages near Osnabrück. One of these, Bernhard Knollenberg, married Ellen Peterson, brought his parents and several brothers and sisters to America, and became the founder of a numerous Whitewater clan of farmers, housewives, clerks, merchants and mechanics.

The linguistic, religious, and other barriers which often isolate foreign immigrants, however eager for assimilation, appear never to have been raised against the Hanoverian newcomers by the Whitewater Friends. John Peterson's marriage to a member of the older dominant group, and the fact that the patriarch, Andrew Hoover, was of German origin, spoke German, and had done Friends missionary work among Germans in western Ohio, may have contributed to the congenial relations between the old and the new. Probably the most powerful factor was a striking similarity in the views of the Friends and the Germans. The Friends frowned upon litigation and lawyers, discouraged ostentation, deprecated the use of hard liquor, and were strongly opposed to war. The other early groups in the community, most of whom were from Kentucky, did not generally share these views. The Germans did.

Dr. John T. Plummer, in his *Directory of the City of Richmond*, published in 1857, repeats with much gusto the following repartee of Charles W. Starr, one of the outstanding

pioneer Friends: "Starr signifying to one of our lawyers that he thought, as a class, they were of little service to a community, the lawyer sharply replied: 'Why, then, do you employ us?' 'For the same reason,' said Charles, 'that I would use a dung-fork—to pitch a nuisance out of the way, which I would not handle with my own fingers.'" The Whitewater Germans shared this distaste, and, until into the twentieth century, considered the practice of law a suspect vocation.

The Friends were opposed to ostentation on principle. The Germans had practically all been poor, simple peasants and craftsmen who had never had the wherewithal for ostentation in the old country. Those among them who acquired wealth in their new home, far from gaining prestige, would have lost caste by flaunting their good fortune.

As for whisky or other hard liquor, the Indiana Friends had taken a strong stand against it by the eighteen-thirties, regarding it as the curse of every frontier community. The Germans, unaccustomed to the regular use of hard liquor, readily adopted the Friends' view, finding ample satisfaction in beer, which in those days was still in good standing with members of the Society of Friends.

The Mexican War was a further tie. The Friends held James Russell Lowell's view, expressed in the *Biglow Papers*, that

"Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testyment fer that."

The Germans took no stand against the war on principle, but, detesting compulsory military service in Germany, they were delighted to shun participation in an American war which their Quaker neighbors condemned as one of sheer aggression on the part of the United States. Consequently, while elsewhere in Indiana companies were quickly formed (General Lew Wallace and other Hoosiers of later Civil War fame got their baptism of fire in Mexico), the Richmond *Palladium* reported on June 1, 1847, that the "recruiting officer left this place, as he came, 'solitary and alone,' not one convert to follow in his

train. If Polk wants men to fight his wars he must look for them elsewhere."

The Civil War was a different story. Many volunteered on the Northern side from both the Quaker and German elements on the Whitewater. General Solomon Meredith of Cambridge City, the most prominent recruiting officer and soldier in the valley, was a birthright Friend, and German names are common in the roster of volunteer companies recruited in Wayne County.

Peterson and most of those who immediately followed him were Lutherans. Bennett Baumer and several other German Catholics had settled on the Upper Whitewater even before Peterson's arrival,² and, by 1846, a Catholic church, preponderantly German American in membership, was established in Richmond. Furthermore, the building of the Whitewater Canal brought a great influx of Germans, mainly German Catholics, to the Brookville region. They kept largely to themselves, and, even today, their principal settlement, Oldenburg, has the atmosphere and charm of an old Continental village. A further group of Germans—Dunkers from Pennsylvania and Maryland—settled around Hagerstown and elsewhere on the upper West Fork at an early date. Retaining their seventeenth-century garb long after most of the Friends had succumbed to the lure of modish dress, these Dunkers gave a picturesque touch to the valley well into the twentieth century.

² There is some interesting material on the early days of the Germans in and around Richmond in Fred J. Bartel's *The Institutional Influence of the German Element of the Population in Richmond, Indiana* (*Papers of the Wayne County, Indiana, Historical Society*, I, No. 2, Richmond, Ind., 1904).

ELIJAH COFFIN AND DR. PLUMMER

IN DECEMBER, 1834, the Richmond branch of the State Bank opened its doors, with Achilles Williams, a prominent Richmond businessman, as president and Elijah Coffin as cashier. When the first State Bank was opened in 1817, Richmond was too small to be among the places selected for a branch, and after the failure of the Bank in 1822 and the voluntary closing of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Madison about 1823, Indiana had no banks for ten years. The opening of the bank at Richmond was, therefore, an event of exceptional importance on the Upper Whitewater.

Williams was soon succeeded by another president, but, throughout the bank's profitable existence of more than twenty years, Coffin remained its cashier. "Full six feet tall, rather slender, with a beautiful and expressive countenance, high forehead and nervous active temperament. . . . dressed in full Friends' garb," "prudent and cautious. . . . ever looking to the. . . . expenditures of the bank, and the solvency and promptitude of its paper,"¹ Coffin was one of the most distinguished businessmen of the valley. Yet to those of a later generation his most noteworthy attribute was neither his appearance nor his worldly success, but the fact that he occasionally recorded visions of God, almost as vivid as those of Jonathan Edwards.

One of these occurred shortly before Coffin left Milton. "I saw ourselves," he says, "situated in a beautiful cottage dwelling, surrounded by delightful scenery; the yard, and grounds around were livingly green; all the earth seemed as it were animated with beauty and cheerfulness; the heavens above were perfectly clear and brilliant, the sky having its deep and lively blue; the sun was uncommonly glorious, and

¹ Russell, Elbert, "Elijah and Naomi Coffin," in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909), p. 103; Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, p. 394.

shone with rays as clear and uninterrupted as could be imagined. From some remarkable sound, or summons not now clearly recollected, our whole family left the cottage on a tiptoe of surprise and great wonder; we all stood together in the beautiful yard near the door; the sun was just at the *western* horizon, shining with unclouded brightness, ready to go down in a few minutes; all creation was still and breathless, as if knowing what was at hand; a great and wonderful movement was visible in the eastern sky; the *archangel*, with his trumpet, was distinctly *visible* in the eastern sky, about as high as the sun is at nine o'clock in the morning; he was gently ascending, as the sun does; the sound of his trumpet was distinctly audible; he was attended by a countless multitude in the heavens who followed him; he was *calling the living and the dead to judgment*. Our souls were swallowed up in amazement, and as it were lost in the greatness of the scene; we were sensible that our time was at hand; a few moments more, and we should ascend to meet the Lord in the air, and join the countless multitude; a sense of deep mingled fear, joy and delight ran through our whole souls and bodies; we were all to go, soon, very soon; and the time grew nearer and nearer as we watched, and were lost in wonder, and the greatness of the scene. Our youngest daughter, a lovely child of about one year old, first *took flight*—I saw her rise and ascend toward the company in the air (she was nearest ready for heaven); and *we* were expecting our time in a few moments, when I awoke with a thrilling sense of the scene, still pervading my whole man. Language is entirely incapable of conveying, even faintly, the thrilling glory, the unspeakable power and magnitude, and the sublime majesty and calm and holy greatness of the scene.”²

Yet the fact that he felt so close to God gave Coffin no overweening confidence of being among the elect: “In a dream, about this time, I saw myself on my final trial for eternity; my anxiety was exceeding great, beyond the possibility of expression; my sins, insincerity and unfaithfulness were very awful, and came near to balancing everything that could appear in my favor; but the divine and eternal verdict

² *Life of Elijah Coffin*, pp. 151-52.

was finally given *barely in my favor*; I was 'scarcely saved,' yet I *was saved*; I was conducted by one whose office appeared to be to attend to that business, into a seat on the side of glory; I remember seeing another person, about the same in situation as myself, at the same time; we were told that we might sit there awhile and rejoice; and such was the exceeding joy that thrilled my whole man, soul, body, spirit, and pervaded every member, that an issue of suppressed joy and praise involuntarily went from me, and from the other person like me. Not a particle of evil, of stain, or of fear remained, but our joy was *perfect, in fullness*."³

John T. Plummer, son of a well-to-do Quaker merchant of Richmond, also had visions. But they were of a different order—not of heavenly bliss, but of curing the sick, aiding the farmer, and enlarging human knowledge. In the summer of 1826, at the age of eighteen, he journeyed by way of Dayton and Columbus to Milan (now Venice), Ohio, on Lake Erie, where, for a fare of \$8.00, including meals, he secured steamship passage for Buffalo. From there he proceeded by way of Canandaigua, New York, Albany, and New York City to New Haven to attend the Medical Institution of Yale College—the first medical student at Yale from any part of the old Northwest Territory west of the Great Miami.

The Yale Medical School had only four instructors, Nathan Smith, Benjamin Silliman, Eli Ives, and Jonathan Knight, but they were one of the most distinguished groups of medical teachers ever assembled in this country. Nathan Smith, a surgeon and teacher of surgery of the first rank, was an original and exact investigator of the causes of disease, notably typhoid. Silliman, not a doctor, was a stimulating teacher in every part of his broad field—chemistry, pharmacy, mineralogy, and geology. Furthermore, by giving his former students the chance to publish their work in the columns of the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, of New Haven, which he edited, he encouraged their continuing interest in research.

After receiving his M. D. degree from Yale in 1828, Plummer returned to Richmond and for over ten years devoted

³ *Life of Elijah Coffin*, p. 150.

himself almost exclusively to the practice of medicine. On the side, "with great labor, care and considerable expense," he assembled at Richmond "a collection of natural curiosities. . . . from the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, a large quantity of the rarest specimens to be found in the several departments of nature." It was regarded by his fellow citizens of Richmond as the "best private collection of Natural Curiosities in the West."⁴

From 1840 to 1860 he was a constant contributor to various magazines on a wide range of subjects. For the first ten years his writings threw light on the botany, geology, agriculture, entomology, and horticulture of the Upper Whitewater region. One of the first contributions was to Silliman's *Journal*. Usually rather pedantic, Plummer occasionally relaxed to give a delightful account of his pet shrew or tell the tale of a fabulous horse at Centerville which not only pumped drinking water for itself but served the other animals on the farm. The *Indiana Farmer and Gardener* edited by Henry Ward Beecher from 1845 to 1848, during his pastorate of the Second Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis, also attracted Plummer's interest. His contributions to it included notes or articles on "Native Ornamental Shrubs," "Crops in Wayne County," "Lucerne" (alfalfa), "The Army Worm," "Grasshoppers," and "The Polar Plant."

Later Plummer began to publish observations, made in his extensive practice as a physician, in the *American Journal of Medical Sciences*, *American Journal of Pharmacy*, *Cincinnati Medical Observer*, and the *Western Lancet*. Outstanding among these is his letter on the 'Animalcula Discovered in the Dejections of Cholera Patients,' published in the *Western Lancet* of Cincinnati in 1849.

The epidemics of Asiatic cholera that were carried from New Orleans to Cincinnati, and then fanned out through the Ohio Valley in 1832, 1833, 1834, and again in 1849, were so terrifying and destructive as to be generally accepted as a direct visitation from God or the devil. Francis Frazier, recounting the outbreak of the 1849 epidemic at Lynn, near the source of

⁴ Centerville *Wayne County Record*, November 1, 1843, p. 1, c.4.

the Whitewater, declared:⁵ "A cloud rose in the morning from the east, with some lightning and thunder. The lightning struck the ground at the cross roads near Isaac Palmer's, east of Lynn, and there came a terrible smell. The cholera began the same day, and ran along those roads west and south. The next day, in the morning, when I was at Newport, a neighbor came for a coffin, and said, 'James Lister is dead with the cholera, sick only a few hours.' I went home instantly. Jesse Williams came to shave the corpse, and some one said, 'Jesse, what is the matter?' He quit shaving, went out of the door, sat down, and in a few minutes he was dead. . . . Twenty-seven died in all. Dr. Cook came down from Winchester, saying that he could cure it easily enough. He went into the field and picked and ate blackberries, and in two or three hours he was dead himself."

Dr. Plummer did not accept the common view as to the supernatural character of the disease. Writing to the *Western Lancet* in 1849, he described researches he had undertaken on its causes. "During the prevalence of epidemic cholera in this place," he said, "I have availed myself of every opportunity of examining chemically and microscopically, the alvine evacuations of the patients under my care." From this study he had concluded that the cause of cholera was an "animalcule" "inbred in the human system or imbibed." These observations he turned over to others whom he considered better prepared for microscopic research.

It was not until 1883 that Koch proved by adequate controls that bacteria, imbibed into the intestinal tract, caused cholera, and there is no evidence that Koch ever heard of Dr. Plummer's observations. But who can say that the suggestions of this Quaker scientist on the Whitewater may not have helped Koch and others to understand and curb one of mankind's most dreadful scourges?

⁵ Quoted in Tucker, E., *History of Randolph County, Indiana*, . . . (Chicago, 1882), p. 87. See also accounts of Silas Johnson, p. 82, and William Pickett, p. 99.

EARLHAM COLLEGE

“Guarded well by elms and maples ;
Shrined in every heart,
Our beloved alma mater,
Earlham, fair thou art.”

EVEN A SPEED-MAD driver, when leaving Richmond on the National Road to Indianapolis, will slow down to enjoy the beauty and serenity of a broad, tree-studded campus, dominated by a weathered brick dormitory flanked with newer buildings round about. This is Earlham College, founded as Friends' Boarding School in 1847. Many of the best American colleges and universities have sprung full-blown from the stocks and bonds of some rich founder. Try as they will, their boards and presidents cannot create the flavor that distinguishes institutions like Earlham, which have grown slowly and painfully from more rudimentary beginnings.

On the ground that “knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community” were “essential to the preservation of a free Government,” the framers of the Indiana Constitution of 1816, stipulated that the General Assembly should provide “by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation, from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.”

Having made this grandiloquent statement of policy, the people and their representatives seem to have considered further efforts unnecessary. Edward Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* has been resented by many good citizens of Indiana, but there is ample evidence that the typical Hoosier school of the eighteen-twenties to eighteen-forties was as crude as the one Eggleston portrayed. Funds derived from the sale of Federal lands, granted to the state for school purposes, and fines imposed for neglect of militia duty were used to build school buildings of a sort in most of the counties of the state. But no provision whatsoever was made for payment out of public

funds for the most essential ingredient of a school, the teacher, and in the parts of the state where most parents could not, without severe sacrifice, contribute towards the payment of a teacher, there were no public schools. As late as 1840, twenty-two counties in Indiana reported that more than sixteen per cent of their residents over twenty years of age were unable to read and write. It was not until the passage of the famous law of 1852 that the foundation for the old Indiana common or district school was laid and a real state system of public education was started.

The Friends, however, desiring their children to nourish the inner light by reading the Bible and the recorded experiences of earlier Friends, promoted an elementary education for all members of the Society. The Upper Whitewater was, therefore, from the first, a center of elementary education in Indiana, and the Federal census of 1840 credited Wayne County with almost one hundred per cent adult literacy.

As early as 1811, Whitewater Friends Monthly Meeting appointed a standing committee for schools. Soon afterwards, Robert Brattain opened a primary school for the children of Friends in the log meetinghouse just north of Cox's Settlement, and similar schools were established in connection with all the more populous Friends meetings on the Whitewater. The teachers were paid from fees collected from the parents of the scholars, the tuition for indigent Friends being paid from the funds of the Society. The usual term was twelve weeks, though parents who could afford to hire the teacher for a longer period frequently did so. These schools were opened to non-members of the Society, too, on payment of a fair part of the tuition.

The Friends did not share the desire for a trained professional ministry which induced other denominations to found seminaries and colleges. Their early schools were exclusively elementary. Even in the thirties, when the movement arose among the Friends for a high school, the main purpose seems to have been to keep the children from the public county seminaries. These seminaries, as pointed out in a report to the Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1830, were supported largely "by



EARLEHAM HALL, ABOUT 1855

Fines imposed on the Society of Friends, on account of one of its Christian Testimonies"—namely, that against bearing arms—and were accordingly not favorites of the Society.

In 1832 a farm of three hundred acres on the National Road, half a mile west of Richmond, was purchased by Indiana Yearly Meeting partly with a view to the establishment of a Friends' boarding school of high-school grade. A campaign for building funds was promptly started, but not until 1847, and then only through the help of contributions from Friends in England and Ireland, was a building constructed and the school opened. The first principals of the school, Lewis Estes of Maine and Hulda Hoag of Vermont, were well-trained and devoted teachers. Furthermore, the Boarding School at Richmond was long the only Friends' seminary or college west of the Susquehanna. Consequently, students were drawn to the school from Friends' settlements throughout the entire Middle West.¹

One of the students in the second class at the school, Mordecai M. White, later Earlham's great benefactor, wrote the following account for the *Earlhamite* of his early days at the school:²

"My first sight of Friends' Boarding School was upon a beautiful Autumn morning, when, in company with a number of others, in a road wagon, seated upon hair-covered trunks, containing all our worldly goods, we made a journey of thirty-six miles [from near Knightstown, Indiana], which required two full days. As we turned in from the great National road our hearts sank low, and quiet settled over our buoyant, youthful spirits, as we felt our liberty was soon to be taken from

¹ In 1827 Beech Grove Seminary was opened near Liberty in Union County, headed by William Haughton, a graduate of the famous Friends' Academy at Ackworth, England. There is an interesting account of the semiannual examination at Beech Grove in the Richmond *Palladium* of October 14, 1843, p. 4, c. 1. In 1838 another excellent seminary was established on the Upper Whitewater, at Cambridge City. Its superintendent was Samuel K. Hoshour, author of *Letters to Esq. Pedant, in the East*, by Lorenzo Altisonant, an Emigrant to the West, first published at Cambridge City, Indiana, in 1844, re-published at least twice, and still read by those interested in the curiosities of pedagogical method.

² *The Earlhamite*, XVIII, No. 4 (January, 1891), pp. 75-76.

us. We entered the building in awe, and, after depositing our scanty baggage, we were presented to the principal teacher and assistants, after which we were collected in a body to hear the rules and regulations. These . . . were read to us in solemn and impressive tones. They designated the exact number of pieces of linen each one was expected to have, also that all 'outside apparel' must strictly conform to the correct style in cut, which was then deemed necessary to be worn by all those who were styled 'consistent members' of the Society of Friends. We were also 'advised' that our hair should not 'show too much training.' We then entered upon a course of study which was to cover three years.

" . . . study . . . began at 6 o'clock in the morning, as we were informed the mind was the most receptive then, and was prolonged until 9 in the evening.

"Frequently one or more were politely invited to appear before a conference in the parlor, for various infractions of the rules, and the Supreme Court of the United States has not more dignity than the group of worthy officers who sat there in judgment. From the first we were duly and formally impressed that it was almost unpardonable to have any communication, either verbal or written, with young women. However well this dogma was adhered to, there was a very large proportion of marriages took place between those who had first met while attending this boarding school.

"It was the rule that every student should attend Whitewater Monthly Meeting, held in Richmond, and we marched in couples to the old Yearly Meeting House, where 'reserved seats' were filled upon either side of the house. Here we were indoctrinated into the faith and practices of Friends. . . ."

White does not give his curriculum, but an earlier number of the *Earlhamite*³ records that in the year 1851 courses were offered in geometry, plane and spherical, land surveying, algebra, trigonometry, arithmetic, English grammar, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, meteorology, geography, geology, solar and sidereal astronomy, physiology, chemistry, Latin, and Greek, besides all the branches of a common-school educa-

³ *The Earlhamite*, III, No. 7 (April, 1876), p. 147.

tion and, of course, religious instruction. Though diplomas and degrees were regarded as vain show by many worthy Friends, and higher education superfluous, the Indiana Yearly Meeting, presumably to meet the competition of other sects, in 1859 expanded the course of study, adopted the name Earlham College, and, as earlier empowered to do, provided for granting the A. B. degree.

Mature, beautiful, true to its Quaker ideals—loved and respected by graduates throughout the world—this college is justly the valley's greatest pride.⁴

⁴ For some years after 1853 the Methodists maintained a college—White-water College—in the former Wayne County Seminary building in Centerville. Young, *History of Wayne County, Indiana*, p. 170.

GOLD!

NO PLACE IN the country was riper for the California gold rush of '49 than the Upper Whitewater Valley. The Mexican War had drained most communities of their more adventurous spirits, but this region, as we have seen, furnished few recruits.

The fuse was touched off by the following report in the *Richmond Palladium* of December 20, 1848: "Accounts from the gold region of California are flowing in from all sources. . . . Soldiers and sailors in California are deserting to the mines, and hundreds are preparing to depart from the different states to heap up sudden riches for themselves. . . . So abundant is the 'stuff' that it is said that it is easy to get eight or ten ounces a day. . . . They make the most who employ the wild Indians to hunt it for them. . . . The Indians know nothing of its value; . . . they will give an ounce of it for the same weight of coined silver, or a thimbleful of glass beads, or a glass of grog. . . . A deposit of \$16,000 of California gold has been made at the Mint, by a gentleman just arrived via Panama, who brings with him an equal amount belonging to other parties."¹

On February 7, 1849, the *Palladium* reported: "Our little Quaker city is not to pass unrepresented in the golden lands of the far west. Several meetings . . . have been held, the names of some fifteen adventurers enrolled, rules and regulations for the march have been established, wagons are being made and all the preparations . . . are in a state of forwardness. Each person who joins is required to pay in \$250. . . . The company is composed exclusively of moral and upright men. . . .

"A company of about 20 members also has been organized at Centerville and the same spirit is said to prevail at Hagerstown and several other towns in the county."²

¹ Quoted in *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), p. 11.

² *Ibid.*

The first to start from the Whitewater was the Hagerstown company whose hilarious trip by canal boat to Cincinnati was described in an earlier chapter. According to Henry Shombre's diary this company left Hagerstown on March 19, 1849. The men boarded a steamboat at Cincinnati and reached St. Louis on the night of March 25. Three days later they were off by another steamboat for Independence, near the present Kansas City, Missouri. Independence, long the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe trail, was selected as the outfitting point by most of those headed for Oregon or California in the forties. Joined there by the Centerville and Richmond companies, they all began their overland journey on May 3.

Shombre was filled with delight when the Whitewater party finally started its trek. The train made quite a show—ten wagons, fifty-seven men, eighty-one horses, mules and oxen, and three dogs. They launched out "on an ocean of eternal prairie," their road passing over beautiful rolling country. Two of the party soon fell desperately ill, holding up the journey and filling their companions with foreboding. One of the men died, the other seemed to be a little stronger, and the company moved forward with twelve of the men carrying the sick man on an improvised litter.

They traveled for some days up the Kaw (Kansas) River, continually plagued with sickness, but lucky in having good weather and a tolerable road. Shortly before reaching the Big Blue River, the Whitewater party overtook a band from Georgia with whom they had fraternized at Independence. The parties joined forces, drew up a code of laws, and elected as captain a Whitewater man, David B. Woods, erstwhile junior editor of the *Wayne County Whig* of Centerville, who had fought in the Florida wars under Zachary Taylor. The party followed the Big Blue northward to near its source and then pushed on to a point on the Platte a little east of Grand Island, which was reached on May 29. On their way up the Big Blue the party passed a party from Brookville and Laurel, with whom they had a pleasant visit.

At the Platte the party struck the road leading west from St. Joseph and Council Bluffs, and the men were cheered by

the company of many fellow travelers. In spite of heavy rains and the collapse of several of the mules under the strain of the heavy loads, they reached Castle Rock on the North Platte June 12, and Fort Laramie four days later. Here the party rested a few days before beginning the long, hard pull across the Rockies which towered above them as they gazed westward. Fort Laramie was a sort of mecca for western travelers of the forties, but, according to a letter of Samuel Suffrins in the *Palladium* for October 31, 1849, the Whitewater party found there only "a poor, miserable, old, delapidated mud fort, tenanted by a lot of lazy, lounging, loafing, renegade Indian-French all drunken and swollen. It gave us all the dolefuls to look at them."

This stop at Fort Laramie was a time for general letter writing, and, in its issue of August 15, 1849, the *Palladium* published letters from Charles Maule of Hagerstown and Isaac Evans of Richmond, which fill some of the gaps in the diary of Shombre. Evans states that the Whitewater party had passed, apparently in the order named, "Two tribes of Shawnees, one of Pawnees, [and] two of the Sioux" all friendly. Evans also makes clear that the disease which had plagued the Hagerstown boys was cholera, and gives some conception of the density of the traffic on the road by noting that they had passed more than 2,000 wagons in ten days.

Shombre's diary ends with his arrival at Fort Laramie. We can piece out the rest of the journey from letters written the following July and August, published in the Richmond and Centerville newspapers some months later. The party set out from Fort Laramie about June 20, continued to follow the North Platte and its tributary, the Sweetwater, to South Pass, struck northwest to Fort Hall in present southeastern Idaho, and, according to a letter of Captain Woods, arrived there "all in safety and all in good health" and "our stock is in good condition" a month after leaving Fort Laramie. The rest of the journey was a different story. Like practically all forty-niners who took an overland route and lived to tell the tale, the Whitewater men suffered almost unendurable hardships on the desert between the Rockies and the Sierra Nevadas. From

American Fort, California, George Parry of Richmond wrote on September 9, that his brother and he had "reached the Salt Well, being nearly famished." The more they drank the more thirsty it made them. "We now had ten miles more to make to reach the [Carson] river," he wrote. "Brother Isaac said he could not go and I thought I should not be able to get through, . . . our mules being too weak to carry us. We left six or seven mules before we reached the river." Yet they both managed to push through, only to find at the end of the trail the disillusionment that awaited most of the gold seekers.³

Every letter home to the Whitewater told of the scarcity of pay dirt and of the high cost of living—flour, sixty cents a pound; sugar, seventy cents a pound; pork, a dollar; and clothing in proportion. On February 27, 1850, the *Palladium* announced the death of two of the Hagerstown boys in California. A month later it reported the death of Samuel Suffrins of Richmond at Napa, California, after a lingering illness resulting from "exposure . . . and the deprivations of the comforts of life."⁴ Young Suffrins was the son of John Suffrins, a hatter, one of the best-known craftsmen on the river, and the news of his death went up and down the length of the valley.

In May, 1850, other sad news came back from the party. Captain Woods and two of his companions were killed by Indians, while on a prospecting trip. Their bodies were found among the rocks of Bear River. Woods had been entirely stripped of clothing and seven arrows were sticking in his body, while a withe about his neck indicated that he had been dragged to the river.⁵

Only Shombre appears to have come back in good health and well-lined with gold. Even in his case the trek to California eventually had fatal consequences. In 1854, the Federal Government opened up the Kansas country for settlement, and, two years later, Shombre, who had been thrilled by the beauty and

³ *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Centerville *Wayne County Whig*, September 4, 1850.

richness of the soil of the lower valley of the Kaw, led a small company from Richmond to the newly opened territory. Taking an active part on the Free-State side in the antislavery struggle in Kansas, Shombre was killed in the attack on the Titus house near Lecompton in August, 1856.⁶

The gold fever brought death to Hiram Mendenhall also. Despite unfavorable reports from the forty-niners, Richmond, Centerville, Boston, and Newport sent out parties again in the spring of 1850. Those from Richmond and Centerville met by chance in St. Joseph, and joined forces. The Newport party consisting of Mendenhall, his son Amos, and three others made the entire journey alone from the Missouri to California in a covered wagon drawn by eight horses. Mendenhall shared the common disillusionment, and in 1852 sailed home with Amos by way of Panama and New York. Cholera broke out on the voyage from Panama, the charnel ship was prevented by threat of bombardment from landing its stricken passengers at Key West, and the ship's company deposited the sick on a barren island off the Florida coast. Amos alone of those stricken survived; Hiram died on June 30, 1852, outliving his old antagonist, Henry Clay, by a single day.⁷

⁶ Richmond *Palladium*, Extra, August 29, 1856. Photostat in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

⁷ Richmond *Palladium-Item*, October 26, 1941, p. 7.

THE RAILROADS ARRIVE

BY 1850 THE Whitewater countryside, with its cornfields, meadowland, orchards, and patches of woods, frame houses and barns, cattle and hogs, in roughly the same numbers and proportions as now, must have looked much as it does today. The valley's economy was, however, little different from the pioneer. Meat, vegetables, fruit, dairy products, wheat, flax, and wool were locally grown and consumed; home-grown wood heated the houses and furnished fuel for cooking; local streams were used for power, and home-bred horses furnished traction and transportation; local craftsmen made the plows, looms, wagons, pumps, stoves, rugs, furniture, and other household and farm necessities; houses were built from local timber, stone, and bricks, and lighted with home-made candles from the tallow of locally slaughtered animals. Hogs and pork were still the major exports, yielding the cash needed for salt, hardware, paint, glass, coffee, sugar, tobacco, cotton cloth, silks, and other imported products. Yet a new era for the valley was close at hand: the era of railroads and of the diversification of industry which they made practicable.

Perhaps the most striking aspects of Indiana's internal improvement program of 1836 was not the huge sum appropriated, but that the appropriation was mainly for canals, not railroads. In 1832 the Indiana General Assembly had granted charters for at least eight railroads to be built within the state, and the Charleston and Hamburg, Albany and Schenectady, Baltimore and Ohio, and other eastern railroads had demonstrated that steam railroads could be successfully operated in the United States. As recently as November 27, 1835, the *Indianapolis Journal* had forcibly pointed out the arguments in favor of railroads over canals in Indiana. Nevertheless, the Hoosier legislators voted the state's funds for canals—probably on the theory that money spent for canals would all stay at home, while much of that spent on railroads must go to England or the seaboard states for iron rails, cars, and locomotives.

By 1850 only one railroad of substantial length was in operation in Indiana—a line from Madison to Indianapolis, begun as a part of the state's internal improvements program of 1836 and completed long afterwards (1847) by private capital. Nevertheless, Indiana was bound to become crisscrossed with railroads, and Richmond, on nearly a beeline from Dayton to Indianapolis and from Cincinnati to Chicago, a railroad center.

In 1852 the Richmond and Miami Railroad began a line from Richmond to the Ohio border to meet a branch of the Dayton and Western Railroad pushing west from Dayton. Its first train pulled into Richmond on March 18, 1853. The following July, the Hamilton and Eaton reached Richmond, providing a direct route from Cincinnati, and in October, the first train on the Indiana Central arrived from Indianapolis. In the next year the Richmond and New Castle Railroad, which later groped its way to Chicago, commenced operation.¹

The lines from Dayton and Hamilton were built and administered largely by Ohio capitalists, those to Indianapolis and New Castle, mainly by Whitewater businessmen and lawyers. John S. Newman of Centerville long remained the president of the Indiana Central. All four of the roads were eventually consolidated into the Pennsylvania System.

It is not clear whether these early railways had the so-called Ohio gauge of four feet ten inches or the present standard gauge of four feet eight and a half inches, but apparently none of them had the six-foot gauge unluckily adopted by some of the early railways. The roads were, of course, at first simple affairs. George P. Emswiler, the first regular freight and passenger agent of the Indiana Central at Richmond, says:² "I purchased . . . an iron safe, a copying-press, letter-book, and sundry other matters pertaining to the office. I also procured

¹ There is considerable material about the early railroads running to the Whitewater in *History of Preble County, Ohio* . . . (H. Z. Williams & Bro. Publishers, n. p. 1881), pp. 94-96. The source of the east branch of East Fork of Whitewater is in Preble County, and this volume contains other material on the early history of the Upper Valley.

² Emswiler, George P., *Poems and Sketches* . . . (Richmond, Ind., 1897), pp. 339-40. Emswiler later left railroading to become a partner in the Richmond dry goods firm of Emswiler and Crocker.

a desk and stool, set up a stove, and was furnished a lot of Indiana soft coal, and concluded by employing three men to assist in handling freight, making transfers, and switching cars about the yard, for such things as an engine for the purpose was not known here at the time. The men employed were: Henry Koehring . . . now in the service of Mr. George H. Knollenberg, dry goods merchant, of this city, as night watchman. The second party was one Fred Schultz, who continued in the service a short time. . . . He was soon after succeeded by Thomas Clark, who continued to serve while I remained in the office. . . . Last, but not least, is William Zeek—a most faithful and reliable German—who has continued at his post from the autumn of 1853 down to the present hour [about 1897]. . . .

"The writer not only furnished and managed the first freight office of the road here, but was also its first ticket agent as well, working faithfully, late and early, and many a time on Sunday, and all for the munificent sum of \$33 1/3 per month, the men receiving \$30 for a like term of service."

However, the new railroads, crude though they were, quickly changed the size and character of the community. In 1850 Richmond was a trading and local manufacturing center for the surrounding farming community.³ Its population, 2,070 in 1840, had jumped to 3,800 by 1853, but was still surpassed by that of many other Indiana towns; New Albany, Madison, Indianapolis, and Lafayette,⁴ named in the order of their size, were all over twice as large. By 1860, with a population of 6,603, Richmond was the eighth largest town in the state, not far behind Madison and Lafayette.

According to Plummer's *Directory of Richmond*, published in 1857, the town and its vicinity by that time had "22 Flouring

³ The population of Richmond in 1850 is given as 1,443 in the United States census of that year. J. D. B. De Bow's *Statistical View of the United States . . . being a Compendium of the Seventh Census . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1854), p. 378, repeats this figure for 1850, but adds a footnote saying that in 1853 it was 3,800. Since the 1840 census gives the population as 2,070, the figure for 1850 is presumably too low.

⁴ New Albany and Madison were on the Ohio; Lafayette was on the Wabash and Erie Canal.

Mills, 24 Saw Mills, 1 Oil [flax seed] Mill, 2 Paper Mills, and a large number of Woollen Factories. . . . 2 Sash, Blind, Door and Flooring Mills; a Cutlery Manufactory; a Shoe Peg Manufactory; a Soap and Candle Factory, beside two in town, in the limits of which we find two or three Coal-yards, Machine-shops, Manufactories of Agricultural Implements, 6 Carriage Manufactories. . . ."⁵ Most of the plants were still run by water or horse power, but advertisements in the *Directory* show that some of them had adopted steam.

The change in the character of the town in the 1850-60 decade was even more striking than its increase in size. In 1850 it was an isolated backwoods settlement dominated by the Quakers in dress, manners, and concepts. By 1860 it was relatively cosmopolitan and closely linked by rail to a thousand other similar communities. Its newcomers were mainly Germans, Irish, and other non-Quakers, who had come to work on the construction of the railroads or as mechanics in the expanding local mills and farm-implement factories, and the products of these industries, thanks to the new cheap and rapid transportation, were finding markets far beyond the limits of the Whitewater. Though the presence of many men and women still wearing the Quaker garb long continued to give Richmond something of its old flavor, it was no longer either a bucolic or even a predominately Friends community.

Six months after the railroads reached the town, John Finley, editor of the Richmond *Palladium* and the Riley of his day, wrote for his paper:⁶

⁵ By far the most important of these factories was A. Gaar & Company, later Gaar, Scott & Company, manufacturers of threshing machines. This company was founded in 1852 by the grandsons of Abram Gaar, a pioneer of German extraction, who came from Hanover County, Virginia, to the neighborhood of what is now Boston, Indiana, in 1807. There is an excellent history of this factory and a number of other Richmond plants in *History of Wayne County, Indiana, together with Sketches of Its Cities*, II, 68-91.

⁶ From "Annuary, or a bird's-eye view of the world, cast in rhyme, from the altitude and for the latitude of Richmond, Indiana," published in the *Palladium*, January, 1854, and reprinted in the Appendix to *Memoir of David Hoover*, p. 41.

“OF RICHMOND, first, I tune my strain—
The Queen of all the Hoosier plain—
By Art and Nature jointly crowned,
A fairer nowhere can be found.
But late she was a rustic maid,
In sweet simplicity arrayed—
A grave and quiet Quaker dame,
To whom earth's jars were but a name:
Long held she thus her peaceful sway,
Unknowing increase or decay.
But lo! what marvels now appear,
Revealed in scarcely half a year!
The placid face she used to wear
Is changed to one of busy care;
She now affects 'the latest style,'
And scarcely can forbear a smile
At the demure and simple ways
Which signalized her earlier days. . . .”

The last six lines, when penned, were more in the nature of prophecy than of fact, but it was not long before those who loved the olden time found Finley's couplets painfully true. Regions in the lower valley, not yet reached by the railroads, remained backwoods country, but the Upper Whitewater, for better or worse, had moved on.

APPENDIX

DOWN THE WHITEWATER IN 1940

CONTEMPLATION OF past days in the Whitewater Valley led to the realization of a boyhood ambition, an excursion by small boat down the Whitewater from Richmond to the Ohio. I made the trip with my son Bernhard Walter in June, 1940, at which time I sent the following account of it to L. M. Feeger, business manager of the Richmond *Palladium-Item*.

"DEAR LUTHER:

"Walt and I got away about eleven o'clock on June 8, from where the race of Larsh's old flour mill ran into the river, just off the Liberty Pike at the foot of Beeler's hill, a favorite fishing and swimming hole of mine in the old days.

"Our boat was a small V-shaped, flat-bottomed affair made of plywood, with canoe paddles. The river was higher and swifter than usual in June, and we reached Brownsville about six o'clock the first evening. Not long after lunch on this first day we came to the junction of Elkhorn Creek; the creek was full, and made quite a show as it dashed into the Whitewater. Clear Creek, whose mouth we passed a little later, brought back memories of many happy hours I spent on its banks while at Earlham.

"The feature of the day's trip was the birds we heard—the foliage was too heavy for us to see many of them. The cardinal, Carolina wren, and tufted titmouse rarely come as far northeast as New Haven, and it was good to get acquainted with their familiar notes again. The swiftness of the river made paddling unnecessary much of the time, and we glided noiselessly along between overhanging trees and underbrush, giving no alarm whatsoever to the singing birds. We were especially delighted with the number of water birds, which seemed more numerous than when I was a boy. Once, three great blue herons flew ahead of us for a good part of a mile, another time a mallard duck put on a fine show of lameness to lead us from her brood.

"Judging from an article on the birds of southeastern Indiana, published by Dr. Haymond of Brookville in the

1850's, there has been remarkably little change during the past century in the character of the bird life in the Whitewater region. By mid-century the wild turkey was almost extinct, and the raven, pileated woodpecker, and bald eagle were rarely seen. All the birds common today, except the diksissel, were on Dr. Haymond's list,¹ and, although a few of the birds were called by names no longer familiar (the brown thrush, for example, is listed as the "ferringinous mocking thrush" and the tufted titmouse as the "great-crested chickadee"), even the nomenclature of the commoner birds has generally remained unchanged.

"We started the second day about seven. Around mid-morning we beached our boat and walked through a field to Quakertown. The old Friends' Meeting House there has disappeared, and the general store, we learned, had just gone out of business, spelling the end of the old settlement. The machinery in the deserted Cockefair woolen mill is likewise gone—moved, they say, to Henry Ford's show at Dearborn, Michigan. We had expected to stop at Fairfield, but slipped by without catching a glimpse of this lovely old river village.

"Not long after lunch came our only spill of the trip. We got a thorough ducking and lost much of our gear, but were otherwise unharmed. We had intended to stop at Templeton's Creek, and climb the great hill on the left bank of the Whitewater to see if we could find any of the relics of the Mound Builders unearthed sixty years ago by Dr. Homsher,² but our little mishap forced us to push on to reach Brookville by nightfall. I had been warned about the treacherous bit of water a mile or two north of Brookville, and did not risk running the boat through these rock-strewn rapids. We tied a rope to the stern and let the boat lead us. We came through all right, except for scratches on our feet and ankles from slipping between the rocks in the river bed.

¹ Haymond, Rufus, "Birds of South-eastern Indiana," in *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, VIII (1856), 286-98.

² Homsher, George W., "Remains on White Water River, Indiana," in Smithsonian Institute, *Annual Report*, 1882 (Washington, D. C., 1884), pp. 928-52.

"Our landing place was only a stone's throw from the Hermitage where Steele and his fellow artists had their Whitewater home. It was pleasant to chance upon this beautiful and familiar spot to which I made a pilgrimage years ago. We had given up our initial idea of camping out, and spent the night at Brookville's Valley House, after a stroll through the older portions of the town.

"It was interesting to recall, as we passed along the richly shaded streets, that, less than a century and a quarter ago, this quiet country town, with its old-world air of maturity, was a raw, booming frontier settlement, the jumping-off place for the newly opened Indian lands of central Indiana and the home of such later notables as Governor James B. Ray, Judge John Test, the famous Noble brothers (Senator James, Governor Noah, and Land Commissioner Lazarus), and Governor David Wallace and his son, General Lew Wallace.

"You asked me to tell you what struck me most forcibly about the trip from Richmond to Brookville. I think it is the absence of any sight or sound of human beings along the river banks. We had expected to see farm houses, barns, work horses, and farmers, but we glided along, mile after mile, without seeing or hearing anything but the birds. I suppose the frequent floods, of which vestiges appear on every overhanging tree along the river, have long since driven the farmers to higher ground.

"At several bridges people called out greetings, saying they had read about our trip in the *Palladium*. The last of these came from the high bridge over the river, just below the junction of the East and West forks south of Brookville, where a woman and an eager young boy waved and shouted 'Good Luck' to us. The trip from Brookville to Cedar Grove was particularly interesting because of the nearness of the abandoned Whitewater Canal. When a train puffed by on the rails laid along the old canal towpath, we beached our boat, scrambled up the bank and watched it out of sight. Incidentally, the builders of the canal did a beautiful piece of construction, however visionary the project may have been.

"We had lunch this third day on a pleasantly shaded gravel

bar on the left bank of the river, in the neighborhood of Cedar Grove, where John Conner had his store and Indian trading post before moving up West Branch to Connersville. The valley is wider here, making flood waters less destructive, and farms began to appear. After lunch we found the finest boating on the trip, between the little river settlements at Longnecker and Harrison. Many belled cows were grazing on the hillsides, reminding one of Alpine pastures. We spent the night at Harrison at an old hotel only a block from where Morgan crossed the Whitewater on his raid through Indiana during the Civil War.

"The fourth and last day was the least exciting. The river had been so formidable looking at the meeting of its East and West branches that we expected to find its junction with the Great Miami impressive, not to say alarming. Instead, we hardly knew when we entered the larger stream. The Ohio, in turn, proved to be completely unruffled by the inflow of the Great Miami. Instead of trying to paddle up to Cincinnati we took the easy course and floated down the Ohio to Lawrenceburg.

"I can't tell you how happy I am we made this little trip, not only because of the fun we had but because it has given Walt some sense of why I love my old home region so much and has refreshed and strengthened my own feeling for it.

"Sincerely yours,

"BERNHARD"

SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS

- Bond, Edward. Account of Edward Bond's journey to Indiana in 1809. Copy in Bond Collection Notebook, pp. 45-55, in Indiana Historical Society Library.
- Friends, Society of. Whitewater Monthly Meeting, Minutes, November 28, 1838, in East Main Street Meetinghouse, Richmond, Indiana.
- Hoover, David, Letter to Charles F. Coffin, October 20, 1855, in Earlham College Library.
- Hoover, Henry. Memorandum written for Charles F. Coffin in 1855 or 1856. Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library of original in the Coffin Papers in the Earlham College Library.
- "Sketches and Incidents, embracing a period of 50 years." Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library from original manuscript in possession of Jack Thomas, Des Moines, Iowa.
- King, Lawrence J., *The Known Bibliography of Dr. John Thomas Plummer* (Richmond, Ind., 1942). Photostat of typewritten copy in Yale University Library.
- Plummer, John T. Diary and expense account on trip to New Haven, Conn., to enter medical school of Yale. 1827(?). Photostat owned by Richmond *Palladium*.
- Shombre, Henry. Diary, March 9-June 6, 1849. Photostat copy in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library, of original in possession of Malcolm Shombre Smith, Topeka, Kansas.
- Thomas, Nathan. Correspondence. In George W. Taylor manuscripts in possession of Francis R. Taylor, Philadelphia.
- White, Aaron. Letters and Papers. Owned by Professor Walter R. Miles, Yale University.
- Wissler, William O., *The Mills of Wayne County*. 1912. Typewritten copy in Indiana Historical Society Library.

NEWSPAPERS

- Centerville *Wayne County Record*.
- Centerville *Wayne County Whig*.
- Emancipator and Free American*. Boston, Mass.
- Indianapolis Journal* (weekly).
- Indianapolis Star*.
- The Liberator*. Boston, Mass.
- New York Tribune*.
- Richmond Palladium*.
- Richmond Palladium-Item*.
- Richmond Public Leger*.
- Richmond Weekly Intelligencer*.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- American Journal of Medical Sciences.* Philadelphia.
- American Journal of Pharmacy.* Philadelphia.
- American Journal of Science and Arts.* New Haven, Conn.
- Atlas of Union County Indiana to which are added various general maps, history, statistics . . .* (J. H. Beers & Co. Publishers, Chicago, 1884).
- Barrows, Frederic Irving (ed.), *History of Fayette County Indiana . . .* (B. F. Bowen & Company, Indianapolis, 1917).
- Bartel, Fred J., *The Institutional Influence of the German Element of the Population in Richmond, Indiana (Papers of the Wayne County, Indiana, Historical Society, I, No. 2, Richmond, Ind., 1904).*
- Beggs, Stephen R., *Pages from the Early History of the West and North-West . . .* (Cincinnati, 1868).
- Bernhardt, Ada L., *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Morrisson-Reeves Library 1864-1939* (Richmond, Ind., 1939).
- Biographical and Genealogical History of Wayne, Fayette, Union and Franklin Counties Indiana . . .* (2 volumes. Chicago, 1899).
- Boone, Richard G., *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York, 1892).
- Braithwaite, Joseph Bevan (ed.), *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney . . .* (2 volumes. 4th ed. Philadelphia, 1854).
- Burns, Lee, *The National Road in Indiana (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VII, No. 4, Indianapolis, 1919).*
- Burnyeat, John. "An Account of John Burnyeat's conviction: Together with a Journal of his Travels," in *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burnyeat . . .* (London: Thomas Northcott, 1691), pp. 1-72.
- Carmony, Donald F. (ed.), "Letter Written by Mr. Johann Wolfgang Schreyer," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XL (1944), 283-306.
- Carr, M. W., *A History of Catholicity in Richmond and Wayne Co., Ind.* (Indianapolis, 1889).
- Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (volumes I- . . . Washington, D. C., 1934-).
- Cincinnati Medical Observer.*
- Cist, Charles, *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851* (Cincinnati, 1851).
- Coffin, Addison. *Life and Travels of Addison Coffin Written by Himself* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1897).
- Coffin, Elijah, *see* Johnson, Mary C. (ed.).
- Coffin, Levi. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad . . .* (Western Tract Society, Cincinnati, 1876).
- Cottman, George S., "Internal Improvements in Indiana. No. IV—Railroads," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, III(1907), [149]-181.
- Cox, Jeremiah. "Memoirs of Jeremiah Cox, Pioneer," in *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), pp. 45-46.
- [Cox, Sanford C.] Series of articles signed "Elkhorn," on "Old Settlers of Wayne County," nos. 1-18, in *Richmond Palladium*, July 26, 1860-

January 31, 1861. Typewritten copy in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

De Bow, J. D. B., *Statistical View of the United States . . . being a Compendium of the Seventh Census . . .* (Washington, D. C., 1854).

Denny, Ebenezer, *see* Denny, William H.

Denny, William H., "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny . . . with an Introductory Memoir," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VII(1860), 205-492.

Dictionary of American Biography . . . (volumes I-XX. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928-36).

The Earlhamite, Richmond, Indiana. Volume III (1876), XVIII (1891).

Edgerton, Walter, *A History of the Separation of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends . . . on the Anti-Slavery Question . . .* (Cincinnati, 1856).

Eggleston, Edward, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster. A Novel* (New York [1872]).

Eley, Fred W., "The Whitewater Canal," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Indiana History Conference*, December 8-9, 1939 (*Indiana History Bulletin*, XVII, No. 2, February, 1940), pp. 69-74.

Elkhorn, *see* [Cox, Sanford C.].

Emswiler, George P., *Poems and Sketches . . .* (Richmond, Ind., 1897).

Esarey, Logan, *A History of Indiana . . .* (2 volumes. Indianapolis, 1915).

———, "State Banking in Indiana, 1814-1873," in *Indiana University Studies*, No. 15 (Bloomington, 1912), pp. [215]-305.

Feeger, Luther M., "Travel in Wayne County," in *Richmond Municipal Airport Dedication Program*, July 4-5, 1945 (Richmond, Ind. [1945]).

Fitzpatrick, John C. (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington . . . 1745-1799* (39 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1931-44).

Forster, William, *see* Seeböhm, Benjamin (ed.).

Fox, Henry Clay (ed.), *Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond Indiana . . .* (2 volumes. Madison, Wis., 1912).

Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle. Newport (Fountain City), Indiana.

The Free Soil Minstrel (New York, Martyn & Ely, 1848).

The Friend. A Religious and Literary Journal. Philadelphia. Volume XII (1839).

Friends, Society of. Indiana Yearly Meeting, *Minutes*.

———. "Minute on Slavery. At a yearly meeting held in Philadelphia by adjournments from the 15th of the fourth month to the 19th of the same inclusive, 1839," in *The Friend. A Religious and Literary Journal*, XII (1839), 279.

———. *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909).

"Friends' Boarding School, near Richmond, Ind.," in *Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal*, IX (1855), 11.

Friends Historical Society of Philadelphia, *Bulletin*. Volume VI (1915).

- Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal*, IX (1855) and XI (1858).
- Gannett, Henry, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States* (United States Geological Survey, *Bulletin No. 258*. 2d ed. Washington, D. C., 1905).
- Gipson, Lawrence Henry (ed.), *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River . . . 1799 to . . . 1806* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XXIII, Indianapolis, 1938).
- Grellet, Stephen. *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Stephen Grellet*. In One Volume (Philadelphia, n.d.).
- Gurney, Joseph John. *A Journey in North America Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich, England, 1841).
 ———, see also Braithwaite, Joseph Bevan (ed.).
- Harris, Branson L., *Some Recollections of My Boyhood* (Indianapolis [1907]).
- Haymond, Rufus, "Birds of South-eastern Indiana," in *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, VIII (1856), 286-98.
- Heiser, Alta Harvey, *Hamilton in the Making* (Oxford, Ohio, 1941).
- H[ibberd], J[ames] F., *In Memoriam, J. T. Plummer, M. D.* (Richmond, Ind., n.d. n.p.). This is reprinted in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909), pp. 188-94.
- Hicks, Elias. *Journal of the Life and Religious Labours of Elias Hicks. Written by Himself* (3d ed. New York, 1832).
- History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio; Their Past and Present . . .* (Cincinnati: S. B. Nelson & Co., Publishers, 1894).
- History of Fayette County Indiana . . .* (Chicago, Warner Beers & Co., 1885).
- History of Preble County, Ohio . . .* (H. Z. Williams & Bro. Publishers, n.p., 1881).
- History of Wayne County, Indiana, together with Sketches of Its Cities . . .* (2 volumes. Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1884).
- Holliday, Fernandez C., *Indiana Methodism: Being an Account of the Introduction, Progress, and Present Position of Methodism in the State . . .* (Cincinnati, 1873).
- Holloway, D. P., "Friends' Boarding School, Richmond, Ind.," in *Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal*, XI (1858), 443-44.
- Homsher, George W., "Remains on White Water River, Indiana," in Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*, 1882 (Washington, D. C., 1884), pp. 728-52.
- Hoover, David. *Memoir of David Hoover . . . with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendix by Isaac H. Julian* (Richmond, Ind., 1857).
- [Hoshour, Samuel Klinefelter] *Letters to Esq. Pedant, in the East, by Lorenzo Altisonant, an Emigrant to the West . . .* (D. K. Winder, printer, Cambridge City, Ind., 1844).

- Illustrated Historical Atlas of Fayette Co. Indiana* . . . (Higgins Belden & Co., Chicago, 1875).
- Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1840-41, House Documents, No. 29.
- *House Journal*, 1829-30.
- *Laws*, 1835-36 (general).
- The Indiana Farmer & Gardener*. Indianapolis.
- Indiana History Bulletin*. Indianapolis. Volume XV(1940).
- Indiana Magazine of History*. Indianapolis and Bloomington. Volumes III(1907), V(1909), XXIII(1927), XL(1944).
- Jay, Eli, "Whitewater Monthly Meeting from 1809 to 1828," and "Whitewater Monthly Meeting . . . From 1828-1909," in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909), pp. 31-42, 71-78.
- Johnson, Mary C. (ed.), *Life of Elijah Coffin; with a Reminiscence, by his son, Charles F. Coffin* . . . ([Cincinnati] E. Morgan & Sons, 1863).
- Kappler, Charles J. (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1904).
- Kemper, G. W. H., *A Medical History of the State of Indiana* (Chicago, 1911).
- Lake, D. J., *Atlas of Wayne Co., Indiana, from actual surveys* . . . (Griffing, Stevenson & Co., Philadelphia, 1894).
- [Lamb, Charles] *The Essays of Elia, With an introduction and notes by Alfred Ainger* (London, 1910).
- Lewis, Samuel, *A Map of the N: W: Territory of the United States: compiled from Actual Surveys and the best Information* . . . W. Barker sculp. (n. p., 1796).
- Lindley, Harlow, "The Anti-Slavery Separation in Indiana and the 'Henry Clay Incident' in 1842," in *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, VI, No. 2 (May, 1915), pp. 34-48.
- [Lowell, James Russell] *Meliboëus-Hipponax. The Biglow Papers*, edited . . . by Homer Wilbur [pseud.] (Cambridge, George Nichols, 1848).
- McClure, William, "Recollections of the Early Settlements of the Whitewater Valley from 1804 to 1826," in *Indiana Agricultural Reports*, 1879 (Indianapolis, 1879), 523-32.
- Miller, James M., "The Whitewater Canal," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, III(1907), 108-15.
- Mitchell, John. *A map of the British dominions in North America, with roads, distances, limits, and extent of the settlements* . . . By Jno. Mitchell. Thos. Kitchin, sculp. (London, printed for Jefferys & Faden, Feb. 13th, 1755).
- Nuermberger, Ruth Ketring, *The Free Produce Movement. A Quaker Protest Against Slavery (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, XXV, Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1942)*.
- Parkhurst, Jacob. *Sketches of the Life and Adventures of Jacob Parkhurst* . . . [Knightstown, Ind., 1893?].
- Pence, George, and Armstrong, Nellie C., *Indiana Boundaries. Territory,*

- State, and County (Indiana Historical Collections, XIX, Indianapolis, 1933).*
- Plummer, John T., *A Directory to the City of Richmond, containing Names, Business and Residence of the Inhabitants together with a Historical Sketch* (Richmond, Ind., 1857).
- Potter, L. D., "Early History of Presbyterianism in the Whitewater Valley," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, V(1909), 28-42.
- The Protectionist*. Newport (Fountain City), Indiana.
- Reifel, August J., *History of Franklin County Indiana . . .* (B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., Indianapolis, 1915).
- Report of the Select Committee in Relation to the Richmond and Brookville Canal Company*, in *Indiana Documentary Journal*, 1840-41, House Documents, No. 29.
- The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931).
- Royce, Josiah, *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (New York, 1908).
- Russell, Elbert, "Elijah and Naomi Coffin," in *Proceedings of the Celebration of the Establishment of Whitewater Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Richmond, Ind., 1909), pp. 102-5.
- Schramm, Jacob, *see* Vonnegut, Emma S. (ed. and trans.).
- Schreyer, Johann Wolfgang, *see* Carmony, Donald F. (ed.).
- Scott, John, *The Indiana Gazeteer or Topographical Dictionary . . .* (Centre-ville, Ind., John Scott, printer, 1826).
- Searight, Thomas B., *The Old Pike. A History of the National Road . . .* (Uniontown, Pa., 1894).
- Seeböhm, Benjamin (ed.), *Memoirs of William Forster* (2 volumes. London, 1865).
- Smith, John L., *Indiana Methodism, a Series of Sketches and Incidents, Grave and Humorous Concerning Preachers and People of the West . . .* (Valparaiso, Ind., 1892).
- Smith, William C., *Indiana Miscellany . . .* (Cincinnati, 1867).
- Stott, William T., *Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908* (Franklin, Ind. [c.1908]).
- Tarkington, Joseph. *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington, One of the Pioneer Methodist Preachers of Indiana . . .* (Cincinnati, 1899).
- Thompson, Charles N., *Sons of the Wilderness. John and William Conner* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, XII, Indianapolis, 1937).
- Treat, Payson Jackson, *The National Land System, 1785-1820* (New York, E. B. Treat & Company, 1910).
- Tucker, E., *History of Randolph County, Indiana . . .* (Chicago, 1882).
- U. S. Census Office. *Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as Obtained . . . from the Returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington, D. C., Thomas Allen, 1841).
- . *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1864).

- . *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* . . . (Washington, D. C., Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853).
- U. S. *Senate Documents*, 19 Congress, 1 session, No. 81.
- Vonnegut, Emma S. (ed. and trans.), *The Schramm Letters Written by Jacob Schramm and Members of his family from Indiana to Germany in the year 1836* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, XI, No. 4, Indianapolis, 1935).
- [Wasson, John Macamy] *Annals of Pioneer Settlers of the Whitewater and Its Tributaries in the Vicinity of Richmond, Ind., 1804-1830* (Richmond, Ind., 1875).
- "Wayne County's 'Forty-Niners,'" in *The Richmond Palladium 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary* (January 1, 1931), pp. 11-12.
- Weeks, Stephen B., *Southern Quakers and Slavery. A Study in Institutional History* (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Extra Volume XV, Baltimore, 1896).
- Western Lancet*. Cincinnati.
- Wiley, Allen, "Methodism in Southeastern Indiana (For the Western Christian Advocate)," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII (1927), 1-62, 130-216, 239-332, 393-466. The last two parts are entitled "Introduction and Progress of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana."
- Williams, William. *Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams* . . . (Cincinnati, 1828).
- Young, Andrew W., *History of Wayne County, Indiana* . . . (Cincinnati, 1872).

INDEX

INDEX

- Abingdon (Va.), 33.
 Abington (Ind.), 101.
 Allen, John, 57.
 Anti-Slavery Friends, 75, 83-84; attitude toward Henry Clay and his visit to Richmond, 76, 80-81; on colonization of free negroes, 81; separation from Indiana Yearly Meeting, 57, 75, 84; support of Free Produce Movement, 83-89.
 Applesseed, Johnny, 74.
 Astrup (Hanover, Germany), 116, 117.
 Back Creek Meeting of Friends (N. C.), 53.
 Baltimore (Md.), 63, 116.
 Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends, 53, 54.
 Baptist, George B., of Detroit, aids fugitive slaves, 73.
 Baptists, 96.
 Baumer, Bennett, 119.
 Beech Grove Seminary, near Liberty, 127n.
 Beecher, Henry Ward, edits *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, 123.
 Beggs, Stephen R., Methodist minister, quoted, 93-94.
 Bell, John, letter to Aaron White, quoted, 62.
 "Ben Franklin," first boat on the Whitewater Canal, 110.
 Berry, Campbell, 100.
 Big Blue River, 131.
 Birds, in Whitewater Valley, 37, 143-44.
 Birney, James G., 82.
 Blockhouses, 40n.
 Bloomfield, Lot, 76.
 Blunt, William, comes to the Whitewater, 22.
 Blunt family, moves to Whitewater, 24.
 Bond, Edward, 56; account of visit to Whitewater, quoted, 32-36.
 Bond, Edward, Jr., 36.
 Bond, Jesse, 32, 33, 35.
 Bond, Joshua, 32, 36.
 Bond, Phebe, 33.
 Bond, William, 32, 35, 36.
 Boston (Ind.), 71, 101; party from, on gold rush, 134.
 Brasher, Thomas, 65.
 Brattain, Robert, opens school at Richmond, 126.
 Bremen (Germany), 116.
 Brookville (Ind.), 13, 17, 96, 119, 145; birthplace of famous men, 49; celebrates passage of internal improvement bill, 109-10; county seat, Franklin County, 47; on Whitewater Canal, 111; party from, on gold rush, 131.
 Brownsville (Ind.), 143.
 Buffum, Arnold, publishes the *Protectionist*, 83.
 Burnside, Gen. Ambrose E., 49.
 Burnyeat, John, Friends minister, 53.
 Business and industry, beginnings of, 42; Aaron White and Elijah Coffin's store at Milton, 65; Levi Coffin's general store at Newport, 66; in Richmond, 29, 50-51, 137-38; distillery, 91-92; and Whitewater Canal, 111, 112; and railroads, 135, 137-38. *See also* Free Produce Movement; Mills.
 Cain's Meetinghouse (Methodist), 91.
 California gold rush, 130-34.

- Cambridge City (Ind.), 13, 50;
Friends seminary, 127.
- Camden (Ind.), Underground Railroad station, 73.
- Campbellites, 96.
- Canals, appropriations for, 109, 135.
See also names of canals.
- Cane Creek Meeting of Friends (N. C.), 53.
- Cane Creek Meeting of Friends (S. C.), 53.
- Catholic Church, 96, 119.
- Cedar Grove (Ind.), 17, 145, 146.
- Cedar Grove Baptist Church, 96.
- Centerville (Ind.), 76; cholera epidemic, 101; county seat, Wayne County, 48-50; on National Road, 103; parties from, join gold rush, 130, 131, 134.
- Centerville Methodist Circuit, 101.
- Centerville *Wayne County Record*, articles on Wayne County towns, quoted, 48, 49, 50, 51; on Clay's visit to Richmond, 76-77, 78-79, 80.
- Centerville *Wayne County Whig*, 131.
- Centerville *Western Emporium*, 51n.
- Central Canal, 109.
- Charles, John, 30.
- Charles, Nathan, 30.
- Charles, Samuel, sketch of, by Henry Hoover, quoted, 30.
- Chester Meeting of Friends, 57.
- Chillicothe (Ohio), 15.
- Cholera, 89, 101, 123-24; attacks parties on gold rush, 132, 134; Dr. John T. Plummer's researches on, 123, 124.
- Cincinnati (Ohio), 20, 32n, 42, 63, 89, 111; Federal Land Office, 15; free-labor store, 84-85; terminus of Whitewater Canal, 112; Underground Railroad station, 70.
- Civil War, 74, 89, 119.
- Clark, Daniel, aids fugitive slaves, 71.
- Clark, Edward, 33.
- Clark, Thomas, 137.
- Clay, Henry, visit to Richmond and encounter with Hiram Mendenhall, 74-82; tribute to Friends, 79; attendance at Whitewater Meeting and reception by Friends, 80-81; presidential candidate, 1844, pp. 74-75, 82.
- Clear Creek, 143.
- Coffin, Addison, on Richmond, 52.
- Coffin, Catherine White, 66.
- Coffin, Charles F., 27n, 55n.
- Coffin, Elijah, 60; storekeeper at Milton, 65; on Whitewater flood, 114; description of, 120; cashier, Richmond State Bank, 120; visions, 120-22.
- Coffin, Levi, 89; routes followed by, in journeying from North Carolina to Whitewater, 32n; storekeeper at Newport, 66; *Reminiscences*, 66, 67-73; sketch of, 66; Underground Railroad activities, 66-73, 83; joins in separation of Anti-Slavery Friends from Indiana Yearly Meeting, 84; participation in Free Produce Movement, 84-85.
- Coffin, Tristram, 66.
- Collins, John, 24.
- Colonization of free negroes, 65, 81n.
- Columbus (Ohio), on National Road, 106.
- Commons, Isaac, 36.
- Comstock, Thomas, Methodist minister, 90.
- Congregationalists, in Richmond, 96.
- Conner, John, store at Cedar Grove, 17, 146.
- Connersville (Ind.), 49-50, 146; celebrates passage of internal improvement bill, 110; county seat, Fayette County, 49.

- Cook, Dr. ———, of Winchester, 124.
- Corydon (Ind.), 28.
- Cotton, free-labor, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89.
- Cox, Jeremiah, 32, 34; enters land at site of Richmond, 21; establishes mill near Richmond, 21, 28; "Memoirs" on settlement of Richmond, quoted, 21-22; Henry Hoover's sketch of, quoted, 27-28; Friends meetings held at house of, 34, 42, 55.
- Cox, Joseph, founder of "Kentucky settlement" near Richmond, 22-26, 40.
- Cox, Mary (Rue), wife of Joseph Cox, 22, 23, 24, 40.
- Cox, Sanford C. ("Elkhorn"), articles on "Old Settlers of Wayne County," quoted, 22-25.
- Cox's Settlement, *see* Richmond.
- Cull, Hugh, Methodist minister, 90-91.
- Cull, Rachel, 90, 91.
- Cumberland (Md.), beginning point of National Road, 104.
- Cumberland Gap, 33.
- Cumberland Road, *see* National Road.
- Currency, scarcity of, 64.
- Darby, Owen, 22.
- Davis, Adam, accompanies Edward Bond to the Whitewater, 32, 35, 36.
- Dayton (Ohio), 20, 75.
- Dearborn County (Ind.), organization of, 16.
- Delaware Indians, in Whitewater Valley, 14, 23, 24; Moravian mission to, 16.
- Denny, Ebenezer, reference to Whitewater River, 14-15.
- De Pauw University, 101.
- Distillery, between Cambridge City and Dublin, 91-92.
- Doddridge's Chapel (Methodist), 101.
- Dublin (Ind.), Methodist congregation, 91-92.
- Dueling, 80n.
- Dunkers, 96, 119.
- Earlham College (Friends Boarding School), named, 61, 129; founded, 125, 127; Mordecai M. White on, 127-28; curriculum, 128-29.
- Earlhamite*, quoted, 127, 128-29.
- Earthquakes, 39, 41-42.
- East Fork of Whitewater, 13.
- Eaton (Ohio), 21-22, 58, 93.
- Economy (Ind.), 101.
- Eddy, Augustus, Methodist minister, 95.
- Edgerton, Walter, quoted, 81n.
- Edwardsport (Ind.), 97.
- Eggleston, Edward, 125.
- "Elkhorn," *see* Cox, Sanford C.
- Elkhorn Creek, 55, 143.
- Elliott, Arthur W., Methodist minister, 90-91.
- Emancipator*, quoted, 81.
- Emswiler, George P., freight and passenger agent, Indiana Central Railroad, quoted, 136-37; enters dry-goods business, 136n.
- Erie Canal, 108, 109.
- Estes, Lewis, principal of Friends Boarding School, 127.
- Evans, Isaac, of Richmond, on gold rush, 132.
- Fairfield (Ind.), 17, 49.
- Fallen Timbers, battle of, 15.
- Fayette County (Ind.), organized, 49.
- Feeger, Luther M., 103n, 143.
- Finley, John, poet, 110; poem quoted, 139.
- Floods, cause destruction to Whitewater Canal, 112, 114.
- Folklore, 74.
- Forster, Josiah, 57.
- Forster, William, Friends minister, visits to the Whitewater, 57.

- Fort Laramie (Wy.), on gold rush trail, 132.
- Fort Wayne (Ind.), Underground Railroad station, 73.
- Forts, built during War of 1812, p. 40; Indian, 35; Recovery, 14, 15; Washington, 14.
- Fountain City (Ind.), *see* Newport.
- Fouts, Margaret, 19.
- Fox, George, 59, 81.
- Franklin County (Ind.), organized, 47.
- Frazier, Francis, on cholera epidemic, 123-24.
- Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, 83-84; on presentation of abolitionist petition to Henry Clay, 77-78, 79-80; on Clay's attendance at Whitewater Meeting and reception by Friends, 80-81.
- Free Produce Association of Friends, formed, 83; employs Nathan Thomas as agent, 85-89.
- Free Produce Movement, 83-89.
- Friends, Society of, attitude toward Methodists, 90, 93-94, 100; beliefs of, 28-29, 41, 54n, 80n, 101, 117-18, 118-19; relations with Germans in Whitewater Valley, 117-18; devotion of, 28-29, 42, 43; Hicksite separation, 30, 58-59, 65; migration to Ohio and Indiana, 17, 18-19, 21, 52, 53-54, 62; organization and communication in, 54-55; praised by Clay, 79; schools, 126-27; and slavery: opposition to, 18, 62n, 75; stand on abolition movement, 75-76, 80-81, 83-84; support of Free Produce Movement, 83, 84-89;
- and war: seek exemption from military service, 29; Civil War, 119; Mexican War, 118-19; War of 1812, p. 41;
- western meetings of, established, 53-54, 56, 57, 58.
- Friends Boarding School, *see* Earlham College.
- Fulghum, Benjamin, of Richmond, 72.
- Gaar, Abram, pioneer manufacturer, 138n.
- Gaar, Scott & Company, Richmond, 138n.
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 81.
- Georgetown (Ky.), 33.
- German Baptist Society (Dunkers), 96, 119.
- Germans, migration to Whitewater, 116-17, 119; relations with Friends, 117-18.
- Givens, Mrs. John, 99.
- Gold rush, 1849, pp. 130-34.
- Grave, Jacob, abolitionist, 76; joins Wayne County Free Produce Association, 84.
- Grayson County (Va.), 29, 31, 32.
- Great Miami River, 13, 14, 16, 108, 146.
- Greens Fork, branch of the Whitewater, 37, 57n.
- Greenville, Treaty of, 15, 16.
- Grellet, Stephen (Étienne de Grellet du Mabilier), sketch of, 34; visits the Whitewater, 34, 56-57.
- Griffin, Daniel, 24.
- Grimké, Angelina E., abolitionist, 75.
- Grimké, Sarah Moore, abolitionist, 75.
- Grouseland, Treaty of, 16.
- Guilford County (N. C.), 62.
- Gurney, Joseph John, visits the Whitewater, 56-57, 59-61; account of journey on National Road, quoted, 59-60, 105-7; Earlham College named after estate of, 61.
- Hagerstown (Ind.), 96, 101, 119; party from, joins gold rush, 130, 131-33; Whitewater Canal com-

- pleted to, 112.
- Hagerstown Canal Company, 112.
- Hamilton (Ohio), 14, 15, 42.
- Hamilton and Eaton Railroad, 136.
- Harden, John, 22.
- Hardin County (Tenn.), source of free-labor cotton, 86.
- Harmar, Josiah, expedition against Miami, 14.
- Harper, ———, a Presbyterian, 17, 96.
- Harper, Ida Husted, 49.
- Harris, Benjamin, 29, 35.
- Harris, Branson, 103n; description of marriage and domestic establishment, quoted, 43-44; on timber of Whitewater Valley, 13; teamster, 42.
- Harris, Martha (Young), 43.
- Harrison (Ohio), 13, 96, 108; on Whitewater Canal, 112, 146.
- Harrison, William Henry, 29, 40.
- Haughton, William, principal, Beech Grove Seminary, 127n.
- Haymond, Rufus, 143-44.
- Hayworth, James, aids fugitive slaves, 71.
- Health and medicine, 39, 45-46; Indian doctor, 44-45; pioneer doctors, 30, 44-45.
- Hellum, Thomas, Methodist minister, 92.
- Hendricks, William, 108.
- Hicklin settlement (Jefferson Co., Ind.), Underground Railroad station, 68.
- Hicks, Elias, devotion of, 59; visits the Whitewater, 57-58.
- Hicksite separation, Society of Friends, 30, 58-59, 65.
- Hill, Benjamin, sketch of, by Henry Hoover, quoted, 31.
- Hill, T., 71.
- Hoag, Hulda, principal of Friends Boarding School, 127.
- Hockett, ———, tollgate keeper, 72.
- Hogue, Zeb, 97.
- Holman, George, comes to the Whitewater, 20, 21n, 22, 23, 24.
- Holman, Joseph, 22, 23.
- Holman, William, 22, 23.
- Homsher, George W., 144.
- Hood, "Mother," of Dublin Methodist congregation, 92.
- Hoover, Andrew, Jr., 19, 27, 29, 32, 117; comes to the Whitewater Valley, 19-21; enters land at site of Richmond, 21; Henry Hoover's sketch of, quoted, 30.
- Hoover, Andrew, Sr., 19.
- Hoover, Catharine (Yount), 21.
- Hoover, David, 27, 39, 50, 55n, 96; sketch of, 19-20, 25; comes to the Whitewater, 19-21; visits "Kentucky settlement," 20-21, 22; marriage, 21; chooses name for Richmond, 25; *Memoir* quoted, 19-22.
- Hoover, Henry, reminiscences of early citizens of Richmond, quoted, 27-31; military fine against, 41; on refusal of Friends to serve in War of 1812, p. 41; on his conversion to Methodism, 95-96.
- Hoover, Herbert, 19n.
- Hoover, Margaret (Fouts), 19.
- Hoover, Rebecca, *see* Rebecca (Hoover) Julian.
- Horney, Solomon, 29.
- Hoshour, Samuel K., educator, 127n.
- Huff, Daniel, of Newport, aids fugitive slaves, 73.
- Hull, Gen. William, 41.
- Hunt, Abner, 117.
- Hunt, Charles, mill near mouth of Elkhorn, 21.
- Hunt, Eliza, marriage to John Gerhard Peterson, 116-17.
- Hunt, Susannah, 117.
- Independence (Mo.), stop on gold rush trail, 131.

- Indian treaties, Greenville, 15, 16;
Grouseland, 16; Twelve Mile Purchase, 16.
- Indiana Central Railroad, 136.
- Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, 123.
- Indiana Quarterly Meeting of Friends, 54.
- Indiana Territory, boundaries of, 15-16.
- Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, established, 57, 75, 84; address from, quoted, 81n.
- Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends, established, 54; separation of Anti-Slavery Friends from, 57, 75, 84; attended by: Elias Hicks, 58; Joseph John Gurney, 59-61; Henry Clay, 80-81; size, 60-61; stand on antislavery activities, 76, 80, 83; report on education, quoted, 126-27; establishes Earlham College, 127.
- Indians, expeditions against (1790-94), 14-15; fort, 35; mounds, 14, 35, 144; mission to, 16; relations with Joseph Cox, 23-24; tribes found in Whitewater Valley, 14, 23, 24; in War of 1812, pp. 40, 41; doctor, 44-45.
- Industry, *see* Business and industry.
- Internal Improvement Act, Indiana, 1836, pp. 109, 135.
- Ives, Eli, 122.
- Jackson, Isaac, 93.
- Jay, Eli, on migration of Friends to the Whitewater, 53-54.
- Jefferson, Thomas, initiates construction of National Road, 104.
- Jefferson (Ohio), on the National Road, 106.
- Jefferson City (Mo.), terminus of National Road, 104.
- Jocelyn, Augustus, Methodist minister, 91, 101.
- John, fugitive slave, story of, 70-73.
- Johnson, Silas, 124n.
- Julian, George W., 50.
- Julian, Isaac, 39.
- Julian, Rebecca (Hoover), on pioneer life, 39; on War of 1812, p. 40.
- Kanawha Road, 32n.
- Kansas, antislavery struggle, 134.
- Kaw (Kansas) River, 131.
- Kentucky, State of, fugitive slaves from, 67, 70.
- "Kentucky settlement," south of Richmond, story of founding, 17, 22-24.
- Kenworthy, William, of Richmond, 72.
- Kidwell, Jonathan, Universalist preacher, 113n.
- Kluge, John Peter, Moravian missionary, 16-17.
- Knight, Jonathan, chief surveyor of National Road, 103-4.
- Knight, Jonathan, of Yale Medical School, 122.
- Knollenberg, Bernhard, marriage, 117.
- Knollenberg, Bernhard (2), 146.
- Knollenberg, Bernhard Walter, 143.
- Knollenberg, Ellen (Peterson), 117.
- Knollenberg, George H., Richmond merchant, 137.
- Knollenberg, Walter, 37.
- Knox, Henry, land speculations, 108.
- Koehring, Henry, 137.
- Lamb, Charles, on Friends meetings, quoted, 43.
- Laurel (Ind.), 50.
- Lawrenceburg (Ind.), county seat of Dearborn County, 16; terminus of Whitewater Canal, 109, 110.
- Lawyers and litigation, frowned upon by Friends, 51, 117-18.
- Lecompton (Kan.), 134.
- Lewis, Samuel, map by, 15n.
- Lewis Woods, 37.

- Lexington (Ky.), 33.
Liberator, 81.
 Liberty (Ind.), county seat, Union County, 49.
 Liberty party, 82.
 Lister, James, 124.
 Locke, William, abolitionist, 76.
 London Yearly Meeting of Friends, sends delegates to Indiana Yearly meeting, 57.
 Longnecker (Ind.), 146.
 Lost Creek Meeting of Friends (Tenn.), 55.
 Louisville (Ky.), 89.
 Lowell, James Russell, poem quoted, 118.
 Luckenbach, Abraham, Moravian missionary, 16-17.
 Lundy, Benjamin, abolitionist, 75.
 Lutherans, 96.
 Lynn (Ind.), cholera epidemic, 123.
 McCoy, Thomas, comes to the Whitewater, 21n, 22.
 McCoy family, at "Kentucky settlement," 24.
 McNary County (Tenn.), source of free-labor cotton, 86.
 Macomb, Gen. Alexander, chief, Engineering Corps, United States Army, 103.
 Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, 136.
 Madison (Ind.) Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank, 120.
 Malaria, 39, 45, 46.
 Manufactures, *see* Business and industry.
 Marshall County (Ind.), pioneer life in, 38n.
 Mary, fugitive slave, story of, 70-73.
 Maule, Charles, of Hagerstown, on gold rush, 132.
 Medicine, *see* Health and medicine.
 Meek, Jacob, 91.
 Meek, Mrs. Jacob, 91.
 Meek's Meetinghouse (Methodist), 91.
 Mendenhall, Amos, on gold rush, 134.
 Mendenhall, Hiram, encounter with Henry Clay, 74-82; on California gold rush and death, 134.
 Mendenhall, Dr. James R., 46.
 Meredith, Gen. Solomon, 119.
 Methodists, in Whitewater Valley, 90-96, 100, 101; attitude of Friends toward, and reception at Richmond, 90, 92-94, 100; circuit riders, 99, 100; meetinghouses, 42, 91; religious exaltation of, 94-95, 99; Whitewater College, 129. *See also* Joseph Tarkington.
 Mexican War, 118, 130.
 Miami Indians, in Whitewater Valley, 14.
 Miami Quarterly Meeting of Friends, 34, 53.
 Milford Meeting of Friends, 58.
 Militia service, and Friends, 29, 41.
 Miller, Joaquin, 49.
 Mills, Jeremiah Cox's, near Richmond, 21, 28; Charles Hunt's near mouth of Elkhorn Creek, 21; Mof-fat's, on East Fork of Whitewater, 72.
 Milton (Ind.), 45, 49, 63; general store, 65.
 Mitchell, John, map by, 15n.
 Moffat's mill, on East Fork of Whitewater, 72.
 Monroe, James, 104.
 Moore, Philip N., 49-50.
 Moravian Indian Mission, on White River, 16-17.
 Morgan, Charles, killed by Indians, 40.
 Mormons, caravan passes through Richmond, 105.
 Morris, Robert, land speculations, 108.
 Morrisson, Robert, first postmaster at Richmond, 51n; sketch of, 31.

- Morrow, William W., born near Milton, 49.
- Morton, Oliver Perry, born in Salisbury, 50.
- Mott, Lucretia, abolitionist, 75; on free-labor goods, 89.
- Mounds, prehistoric, in Whitewater Valley, 14, 35, 144.
- Nantucket Island, 66.
- Nashville (Tenn.), 89.
- National Road, 103-7, 125; account of journey on, quoted, 59-60, 105-7; Cumberland to Wheeling, 63; provides labor for German immigrants, 116; traffic, 105.
- "The Native," Whitewater Canal boat, 110.
- New Garden Meeting of Friends (Ind.), 54, 58n.
- New Garden Meeting of Friends (N. C.), 35, 66.
- New Paris (Ohio), 22.
- New York *Tribune*, 81-82.
- Newman, John S., of Centerville, president, Indiana Central Railroad, 136.
- Newport (Fountain City, Ind.), 50, 101; a center of Anti-Slavery Friends, 54; *Free Labor Advocate* and *Protectionist* published at, 78n, 83-84; party from, on gold rush, 134; Underground Railroad station, 66, 73.
- Newspapers, Centerville, 51n; Richmond, 51n. *See also* names of newspapers.
- Nixon, William Penn, 50.
- Noble, James, 26, 145.
- Noble, Lazarus, 145.
- Noble, Noah, 110, 145.
- Noble, Thomas G., heads reception for Clay at Richmond, 76.
- Nolands Fork, 57n, 66.
- North, Kezia (Mrs. Daniel), 36.
- North Bend (Ohio), 112.
- North Carolina, State of, emigration of Friends from, 18, 53-54, 62.
- Northwest Territory, Ordinance of 1787, p. 14; division of, 15.
- O'Harra, Patrick, at Kentucky settlement, 23.
- Ohio, State of, constitution, 20; migration of southern Friends to, 18-19, 20; penalties against bringing freed negroes into, 65; stock subscription for Whitewater Canal, 112.
- Ohio River, 33, 63, 108; junction with Great Miami, 13, 146.
- Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends, 54.
- Oldenburg (Ind.), 119.
- Opie, Amelia, 105.
- Orange Meeting of Friends, 56n, 58.
- Ordinance of 1787, p. 14.
- Osborn, Charles, abolitionist, 76, 84.
- Overman, Ephraim, sketch of, by Henry Hoover, quoted, 29-30.
- Palmer, Isaac, 124.
- Palmiter, *see* Smith & Palmiter.
- Parkhurst, Jacob, 16.
- Parry, George, of Richmond, on gold rush, 133.
- Parry, Isaac, of Richmond, on gold rush, 133.
- Parsons, "Grandfather," of Dublin Methodist congregation, 91-92.
- Pasquotank County (N. C.), 62.
- Penn, William, 34.
- Pennington, Dr. Joel, treatment for remittent fever, 45-46.
- Perquimans County (N. C.), 30, 62.
- Peterson, Ellen, marriage to Bernhard Knollenberg, 117.
- Peterson, Eliza (Hunt), 116-17.
- Peterson, John Gerhard, comes to the Whitewater, 116-17, 119; marriage, 116-17.
- Philadelphia (Pa.), 18.
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox), Minute on

- abolition, quoted, 75; supports Free Produce Movement, 83, 89.
- Philanthropist*, antislavery journal, 84n.
- Philomath (Ind.), 112-13.
- Philomath Encyclopedia*, 113n.
- Pickering, Timothy, Secretary of State, 16.
- Pickett, William, 124n.
- Pigeons, wild carrier, in Whitewater Valley, 24-25.
- Pioneer life, 37-46, 62-63, 63-64, 135.
- Plummer, Dr. John T., 46; sketch of, 122-23; natural history collection, 123; researches on cholera, 124; writings, 123, 124; *Directory of the City of Richmond* quoted, 117-18, 137-38.
- Point Pleasant (W. Va.), 32n.
- Polk, James K., 82, 119.
- Portsmouth (Va.), 63.
- Presbyterians, in Whitewater Valley, 17, 96; religious exaltation, 99.
- Presidential election, 1844, pp. 74-75, 82.
- Prices, in California during gold rush, 133; farm products, 64; land, 38; paid by Edward Bond on journey to Whitewater, 33, 34; rents, 64; tollgate fee, 73.
- Protectionist*, antislavery organ, 83-84.
- Public lands, sale of, in Whitewater Valley, 15, 16, 38.
- Pugh, Dr. William, pioneer physician, 46.
- Quakertown (Ind.), 144.
- Railroads, provided for, by Indiana General Assembly, 109, 135; in Whitewater Valley, 136; effect of, on Richmond, 137-39.
- Randolph County (Ind.), organized, 49.
- Randolph County (N. C.), 19, 27, 30.
- Ray, James B., 145.
- Reeves, James, 30.
- Reeves, Mark E., 100.
- Reynoldsburg (Ohio), on National Road, 106.
- Rhoads, Samuel, official of Free Produce Association of Friends, 88.
- Rice, free-labor, 85.
- Richmond (Cox's Settlement, Ind.), 13; settlement of, 17, 21, 22; and Society of Friends: center of Society, 18, 21, 51-52, 54, 57-58; meeting established at, 53; headquarters, Indiana Yearly Meeting, 54; *see also* Whitewater Meeting of Friends; origin of name, 25; Henry Hoover's reminiscences of early citizens of, quoted, 27-31; business and industry, 29, 50-51, 64, 136, 137-38; description of, 51; population, 51, 137; newspapers, 51n; post office established, 51n; Clay's visit to, 74-82; Methodist Church in, 92-93, 94, 100; Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in, 96; on National Road, 103; caravan of Mormons passes through, 105; on Whitewater Canal, 111; parties from, join gold rush, 130, 131, 134; effect of railroads on, 136, 137-39.
- Richmond (Ky.), 33, 36.
- Richmond (Va.), 25n.
- Richmond and Brookville Canal Company, 111.
- Richmond and Miami Railroad, 136.
- Richmond and New Castle Railroad, 136.
- Richmond *Palladium*, quoted, 105, 116, 138-39; on gold rush, 130, 132-33; on Clay's visit, 76; series on "Old Settlers of Wayne County," quoted, 22.
- Richmond *Public Leger*, established, 51n; quoted, 50-51, 103.

- Richmond (Ind.) State Bank, 120.
 Richmond *Weekly Intelligencer*, established, 51n; advertisement quoted, 64.
 Ridge Meeting of Friends, 58.
 Roads, poor condition of, 22, 42, 47, 64, 97-98, 103, 108; from Richmond to Ohio border, 22; from the Carolinas to the Whitewater, 32-33, 63; from Cincinnati to Richmond, 42, 71; Jacob Schramm on, 103n; provided for by Internal Improvement act, 1836, p. 109. *See also* National Road.
 Rue, Mary, *see* Cox, Mary (Rue).
 Rue, Richard, comes to the Whitewater, 20n, 21n, 22, 23, 24.
 Rushville (Ind.), Methodist Circuit, 100.
 Sackett, Dr. David F., 41, 46.
 St. Clair, Arthur, expedition against the Miami, 14-15.
 St. John, John P., born at Brookville, 49.
 Salisbury (Ind.), 41; birthplace of Oliver Perry Morton, 50; county seat, Wayne County, 47-48; described, 47-48; decline of, 49.
 Sargent, Winthrop, letter quoted, 16.
 Schools, in early Indiana, 125-26. *See also* Earlham College.
 Schramm, Jacob, on poor roads, 103n.
 Schreyer, Johann Wolfgang, letter of, mentioned, 38n.
 Schultz, Fred, 137.
Sentinel and Star in the West, 113n.
 Shakers, 96.
 "Shakes," 99.
 Shaw, Jonathan, temperance preacher, 101.
 Shawnee Indians, in Whitewater Valley, 14, 23, 24.
 Shombre, Henry, on trip down Whitewater Canal, 112-13; on gold rush, 131, 132, 133-34; death, 134.
 Short Creek, site of "Kentucky settlement," 17, 22.
 Shoup, Francis A., born at Laurel, 50.
 Silk industry, at Richmond, 51.
 Silliman, Benjamin, of Yale Medical School, 122.
 Silver Creek Meeting of Friends, 55, 58.
 Simpson, John, Friends minister, 55n.
 Sims, Charles N., born at Fairfield, 49.
 Slauson, Maria, marriage to Joseph Tarkington, 100.
 Slaves and slavery, Aaron White on, 65; colonization of freed, 65, 81n; Free Produce Movement, a protest against, 83-89; Friends antipathy toward, 18, 62n, 75; fugitive, stories of, quoted from Levi Coffin, 67-73; Henry Clay on, 79; Nathan Thomas on, 87-89; penalties against bringing freed into Ohio, 65. *See also* Anti-Slavery Friends.
 Smith, John, 32n; enters land at site of Richmond, 21; Henry Hoover's sketch of, quoted, 29.
 Smith, John L., story of baptism on Whitewater, quoted, 91-92.
 Smith, Nathan, of Yale Medical School, 122.
 Smith & Palmiter, cabinetmakers, Richmond, 64.
 Society of Friends, *see* Friends, Society of.
 Soil, of Whitewater Valley, 14.
 South Carolina, State of, migration of Friends from, 62.
 Springfield (Ohio), on route of National Road, 103, 106.
 Stacey, George, 57.

- Stansbury, Howard, of U. S. Engineers, 108.
- Stanton, Benjamin, Anti-Slavery Friend, 76, 84.
- Stanton, Borden, on immigration of North Carolina Friends to Northwest, 18.
- Stanton, Dr. Henry B., ministers to fugitive slaves, 69.
- Starr, Charles W., antipathy to lawyers, 117-18; free-labor spinning mill in Richmond, 84.
- State Bank of Indiana, 120.
- Steele, Theodore T., 145.
- Stubbs, 'Squire, abolitionist, 71.
- Suffrins, John, hatter, 133.
- Suffrins, Samuel, of Richmond, on gold rush, 132; death, 133.
- Sugar, free-labor, 85.
- Tarkington, Booth, 97, 100.
- Tarkington, Jesse, father of Joseph, 97, 98.
- Tarkington, Joseph, *Autobiography* quoted, 97-98, 98-99, 101; comes to Indiana, 97; moves to Monroe County, 97-98; conversion to Methodism, 98-99; becomes circuit rider, 99; on the "shakes," 99; on story of Campbell Berry, 100; in Whitewater Valley, 100, 101-2; supports temperance, 101; presiding elder, Vincennes District, 101-2.
- Tarkington, Maria (Slauson), 100.
- Tarkington, Mary, mother of Joseph Tarkington, 97, 98-99.
- Tarkington, William S. R., 100.
- Taverns, on National Road, 105, 107.
- Taylor, George W., letters from Nathan Thomas to, quoted, 87-88.
- Temperance movement, 101, 118.
- Terrell, Edwin H., 49.
- Test, John, 145.
- Texas, annexation of, 74.
- Thames, Battle of the, 41.
- Thomas, Nathan, agent of Free Produce Association, 85-89; letters quoted, 86-89.
- Thompson, James Maurice, born at Fairfield, 49.
- Thompson, John H., state senator, 28.
- Tillinghast, ———, 51.
- Timber, in Whitewater Valley, 13-14, 35, 37.
- Tippecanoe, Battle of, 40.
- Tobacco, free-labor, 85.
- Tollgates, 72, 73.
- Travel and transportation, *see* Canals; Roads; National Road.
- Twelve Mile Purchase, Indian treaty, 16, 39.
- Underground Railroad, hymn to, quoted, 66, 72; Levi Coffin's activity in, 66-73, 83.
- Union County (Ind.), organized, 49; Free Labor movement in, 84.
- Universalists, 96.
- Unthank, Jonathan, joins Wayne County Free Produce Association, 84.
- Vincennes (Ind.), 15, 29.
- Virginia, State of, migration of Friends from, 62.
- Wabash and Erie Canal, 109.
- Wages, laborers on National Road, 116; railroad freight employees, 137.
- Walker County (Ala.), source of free-labor cotton, 88.
- Wallace, David, 145.
- Wallace, Lew, 49, 118, 145.
- War of 1812, pp. 40-41, 54.
- Warner, Dr. Ithamar, 46, 64; description of Salisbury, quoted, 49.
- Warren County (Ohio), 27, 30.
- Washington, George, 101n; urges exploration of western country, 14.
- Washingtonian movement, 101n.

- Way, Dr. Henry H., Anti-Slavery Friend, 69, 84.
- Waymire, Rudolph, 19.
- Wayne, Anthony, victory at Fallen Timbers, 15.
- Wayne County (Ind.), organized, 47; county seat struggle, 47-49; first judicial court, 22n-23n.
- Wayne County Free Produce Association, 84.
- Wayne County Seminary, at Centerville, 129n.
- Wayne County Turnpike Company, 104n.
- Waynesville (Ohio), 34.
- Weaver, Peter, 91.
- West Branch Meeting of Friends, 53, 56.
- West Elkton (Ohio), Underground Railroad station, 71.
- West Fork of Whitewater, 13, 35, 36.
- West Grove Meeting of Friends, 57.
- West Union Meeting of Friends, 57, 58.
- Westbury Meeting, Long Island (N. Y.), 58.
- Western Free Produce Association, 84.
- Western Lancet*, 123, 124.
- Western Yearly Meeting of Friends, 54.
- Wheeling (W. Va.), 63, 104.
- Whig party, 75, 76, 82.
- White, Aaron, 103n, 104; moves to Whitewater Valley, 18, 62, 63; letters quoted, 63-65.
- White, David, 65.
- White, Mordecai M., quoted, 127-28.
- White, William, tavern keeper, 35.
- Whitewater Association of Baptists, 96.
- Whitewater Canal, 119, 145; projected, 108-9; financing of, 109, 110, 111-12, 114; Brookville to Lawrenceburg, 110; first boats on, 110; Brookville to Hagerstown (West Fork), 112, 113; Brookville to Richmond (East Fork), 111, 112; Harrison to Cincinnati, 112; failure of, 111, 112, 113-14; traffic, 112; devastated by floods, 112, 114.
- Whitewater College (Methodist), 129.
- Whitewater Friends Meeting, meets at home of Jeremiah Cox, 34, 42, 55; meetinghouses, 42, 53, 54, 60; monthly meeting established, 53; large number of Friends from Carolinas and Virginia received by, 53-54; attended by itinerant ministers, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59-61; headquarters for Indiana Yearly Meeting, 54; Henry Clay attends, 80-81; educational activities, 126.
- Whitewater Methodist Circuit, 91.
- Whitewater River, description of, 13; mentioned by Ebenezer Denny, 14-15; by Moravian missionaries, 16; Ohio and Indiana counties drained by, 49n; shown on early maps, 15n; trip down, in 1940, pp. 143-46.
- Whitewater Valley, scenery, 13, 14, 35, 145, 146; timber, 13-14, 35, 37; soil, 14; Indian tribes, 14; added to Indiana Territory, 15-16; opened for settlement and sale of land, 15-16, 38; described by Moravian missionaries, 16-17; settlement of lower valley, 16-17; settlement of upper valley, 17, 20-24; Friends migration to, 18, 21, 52, 53-54, 62; described by David Hoover, 20; birds, 37, 143-44.
- Whitewater Valley Canal Company, to complete West Fork, 112.
- Wilderness Trail, 32.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, abolitionist, 75.
- Wiley, Allen, Methodist minister, quoted, 92.

- Williams, Achilles, president, Richmond State Bank, 120.
- Williams, Jesse, 57, 124.
- Williams, Joseph, Methodist minister, 91.
- Williams, William, Friends minister, visits the Whitewater, 55; moves to Indiana, 55-56.
- Winchester (Ind.), county seat, Randolph County, 49; Underground Railroad station, 73.
- Winston-Salem (N. C.), 32.
- Woods, David B., of Centerville, on gold rush, 131, 132; killed, 133.
- Yale University Medical School, 122.
- Young Martha, marriage to Branson Harris, 43.
- Yount, Catharine, marriage to David Hoover, 21.
- Zanesville (Ohio), 59.
- Zeek, William, 137.

INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME 15
NUMBER 2

THE BUFFALO TRACE



By

George R. Wilson *and* Gayle Thornbrough

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1946

FOREWORD

The 1935 session of the General Assembly provided by Act for a commission "to ascertain, determine and fix the route of the historical Buffalo trace across southern Indiana and to provide for the incorporation of the route so determined and fixed in the state highway system."

The members of the commission, the late George R. Wilson, chairman, John K. Chappell, secretary, and the late Lew M. O'Bannon, submitted their report, prepared by Mr. Wilson, to Governor Paul V. McNutt on October 1, 1936. By searching the field notes of the men who made the rectangular surveys of Floyd, Harrison, Crawford, Orange, Dubois, and Pike counties, Mr. Wilson was able to chart the course of the trace almost continuously from Floyd County to the point where it enters the private land claims in Pike and Knox counties.

This report was made the basis for the following article on the trace. The record of the course of the trace which Mr. Wilson compiled from the field notes is given in the Appendix.

July, 1946

GAYLE THORNBROUGH

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Buffalo Trace	183
Clark's and Filson's Routes	188
Harmar's Route	200
Heckewelder's Account	205
Travelers' Accounts	207
Mail Route	216
Harrison and the Trace	219
Surveyors' Records of the Trace	224
The Trace and the Vincennes <i>Western Sun</i>	230
The War of 1812	235
Decline of the Trace	240
Appendix	
Record of the Course of the Trace from Surveyors'	
Field Notes	249
Record of William Rector's Survey of the Trace....	262

MAPS

The Buffalo Trace	PAGE
No. 1	251
No. 2	253
No. 3	255
No. 4	257
No. 5	259

THE BUFFALO TRACE

A PROSPECTIVE traveler to the western country in 1818 might have consulted William Darby's *Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories*. Here he would have found outlined an overland route from Pittsburgh to Lexington, Kentucky. From thence, if he wished to go into Indiana, Illinois, and the Missouri country, he could follow the route designated as No. 54 in the *Guide*, which was as follows:¹

From Pittsburg to Vincennes

To Lexington [Ky.] (See No. 25 [49]) . .	332	332
Frankfort	22	354
Shelbyville	22	376
Middletown	20	396
Louisville	12	408
Clarksville	3	411
The Knobs	5	416
Beech [Buck?] Creek	7	423
Indian Creek	6	429
Blue River	12	441
Sullivan's Spring ²	17	458
Little Blue River	3	461
Big Lick	8	469
Patoka Creek	9	478
Mud Holes	9	487
Muddy Creek	10	497
White Oak Spring	8	505
White River	5	510
Vincennes	15	525

On this route the traveler would cross the Ohio at the Falls and journey across southern Indiana from Clarksville to the

¹ Darby, William, *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories* . . . (New York, Kirk & Mercein, 1818), p. 275. The frontispiece map shows two roads across southern Indiana, one from Louisville and one from Cincinnati, converging a little over half way across the state into one road leading to Vincennes.

² See *post* p. 225n.

Wabash, a distance, according to the above figures, of 114 miles. Accounts left by travelers show that this journey required about three days on horseback. Nights might be spent at taverns, so-called, which offered varying degrees of discomfort, or at the house of an obliging farmer. Ferries were available only on the big rivers; most of the streams had to be forded.

Primitive and disagreeable as this might have seemed to some visitors, southern Indiana in 1817 was rapidly moving beyond a "frontier" status. Her population was mounting; towns were springing up; internal improvements were under way. In 1818 Indiana was enjoying her second year as a full-fledged member of the Union, and in his comments on her prospects, Mr. Darby was most enthusiastic. "It may be doubted," he wrote, "whether any state of the United States, all things duly considered, can present more advantages than Indiana."³

The story of Indiana's emergence from the days of Indian occupation, French and British exploration and intrigue, and frontier Indian wars into statehood might well have aroused the interest of the traveler of 1818 who made his way slowly westward across the state; and the narrow trail which he followed, had he realized it, had been one of the most important adjuncts of that story of growth and unification. What white man first passed that way is not known—probably a French *coureur de bois* or missionary. Its outlines are believed to have been cut through the forests by herds of buffalo, or more properly, American bison, passing from the Falls to the Wabash.

Three routes of travel besides waterways were offered the white men who explored the western country—Indian trails, buffalo roads, and the dry beds of streams. Often the Indian and the buffalo availed themselves of each other's paths and their routes became the same. Herds of buffalo roamed over the area of the central states from the Great Lake south to Tennessee. M. de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada commenting in 1718 on the great number of buffalo en-

³ Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, p. 215.

countered in the woods along the "Beautiful river," the Ohio, said that travelers often found it necessary "to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves."⁴ Buffalo roads or "streets," as they were called by the early hunters, marked the woods and meadows. Probably the most famous were in Kentucky, where the herds, seeking salt, moved from one salt lick or spring to another, and made passages through cane brakes almost impenetrable to man "as trodden and wide, as in the neighborhood of a populous city."⁵

In 1765 George Croghan, visiting the Big Bone Lick in Boone County, Kentucky, made a memorandum in his journal of the "large road which the Buffaloes have beaten, spacious enough for two waggons to go abreast, and leading straight into the Lick."⁶ A few years later (1773), a surveyor, James Douglass, marveled at the same spectacle. The lick as he described it comprised "about ten acres of land bare of timber, and of grass or herbage; much trodden, beaten and depressed below the original surface; with here and there a knob remaining to shew its former elevation. . . . To this lick, from all parts of the neighbouring country, were converging roads, made by the wild animals that resorted to the place for salt, which both the earth and water contained."⁷

Salt licks in southern Indiana attracted the buffalo herds, too. The Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, returning from Post Vincennes to the Falls of the Ohio in 1792, passed "Buffalo Salt Lick," probably French Lick, which he described

⁴ O'Callaghan, Edmund B. (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* . . . (11 volumes. 1856-87), IX, 886.

⁵ Butler, Mann, *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky from Its Exploration and Settlement by the Whites to . . . 1813* (Louisville, 1834), pp. 24-25. See also Jillson, Willard Rouse, *Pioneer Kentucky* . . . (Frankfort, 1934), Chapter III, "First Routes, Trails, and Traces"; Hulbert, Archer B., *Paths of the Mound-Building Indians and Great Game Animals*, and *Indian Thoroughfares (Historic Highways of America, Volumes I and II, Cleveland, 1902)*.

⁶ Croghan, George, "A Selection of George Croghan's Letters and Journals Relating to Tours into the Western Country—November 16, 1750-November, 1765," in Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.), *Early Western Travels* . . . (32 volumes. Cleveland, 1904-7), I, 135.

⁷ Quoted in Butler, *History of Kentucky*, p. 22.

as a "salt spot, several acres in size," "so much trodden down and grubbed up," he wrote, "that not a blade of grass can grow and the entire woods are for miles around quite bare. Many heads and skeletons of these animals are to be found which were either shot from time to time, or had died there. From here a great many buffalo trails lead out. . . ."⁸

In their long migrations north and south in the spring and fall, and in their shorter passages between salt licks and springs and grassy meadows of one area, the buffalo seemed to have had an instinct for choosing the easiest grades and most direct courses, and the passing and repassing of these tremendous herds made the beds of their roads as hard as modern ones. Daniel Boone, in opening his famous Wilderness Road, availed himself of both the Indian "Warrior Path" and a buffalo road. Years after these animals had departed from this area, the incoming settlers found their roads, though clogged and covered with brush and fallen trees, so direct and convenient and so hard of surface that they cleared and opened them for their own use.

The trace from the Falls of the Ohio to Vincennes, or parts of it, may have been made by the buffalo. That it followed a direct and convenient route is evidenced by the fact that Indians and then white men used it for many years. One early traveler thus described the country through which it passed:⁹ "In going from the Ohio to the Wabash, say from Clarksville . . . to Vincennes, you ascend from two to three hundred feet before you find yourself at the top of the last bank of the Ohio; you have then before you a strip of country, twenty miles wide, tolerably level, except where gullied by the action of streams. This brings you to the foot of the 'Knobs' which are at least 500 feet higher than the land in your rear; after which you pass no very tedious hills until you find yourself within three miles from Vincennes. In

⁸ "Narrative of John Heckewelder's Journey to the Wabash in 1792," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII (1888), 173-74.

⁹ Palmer, John, *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America, and in Lower Canada, Performed in the Year 1817* . . . (London, 1818), p. 391. Melish's map in the frontispiece shows a road across Indiana from Louisville, by Jeffersonville, to Vincennes.

travelling from this place to the Ohio, you are not sensible of ascending to the height at which you find yourself on the summit of the 'Knobs,' from which you have a boundless prospect to the east: you can distinctly trace with the eye, at the distance of twenty miles. . . ."

In early records and travelers' accounts this route was referred to as "Vincennes Trace," "Louisville Trace," "Old Indian Trail," "Old Indian Road," "Clarksville Trace," "Trace to the Falls," etc. There is no reference to it as the "Buffalo Trace," but Cauthorn in his *History of the City of Vincennes* stated that it was so called "by old residents who had travelled over it." According to Cauthorn, the buffalo in their spring and autumn migrations "crossed the Kentucky River . . . in Scott county [Kentucky], the Ohio River at the falls at Louisville, and the Wabash at the ford just below this place [Vincennes], and thence to the rich prairie lands of Illinois beyond."¹⁰

The exact route that the trail followed at the time of the earliest references to it cannot be determined. It is evident that its course varied from time to time or that there were alternate paths that might be taken along the way. If it was originally cut through the woods by the buffalo, there would probably have been several paths at certain points from which a traveler might choose, his choice depending on such things as the season, weather conditions, and the location of Indian camps and parties. By examining references to travel between the Falls and Vincennes, it has been possible to get some idea of its route at various periods.

¹⁰ Cauthorn, Henry S., *A History of the City of Vincennes, Indiana* (Terre Haute, Ind., 1902), p. 16.

CLARK'S AND FILSON'S ROUTES

Two allusions to an overland route from the Falls to Vincennes are to be found in George Rogers Clark's "Memoir" of his campaign against the British at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The first of these is in connection with the robbing and murdering of a party of traders by the Delaware.

Following Hamilton's surrender at Fort Sackville, Clark returned to Kaskaskia to make plans for a campaign against Detroit. In his "Memoir"¹ he says that in March, 1779, "part of the Delaware Nation had settled a Town at the forks of the White River and Hunted the Cuntries on the Ohio and Mississippi they had on our first arrival Hatched up a kind of peace with us but I always new they ware for open war but never before could get a proper excuse for extirminating them . . . a few Days after this Captⁿ Helms² informed me by express that a party of Traders that was going by Land to the Fall was Kiled and plundered by the Delawares of White River that it appeared that their designs was altogether Hostile as they had received a belt from the great Counsell of their Nation."

Orders were sent to Vincennes to make war on the Delaware—"their camps ware attacted in every quarter whare they could be fund," wrote Clark, "many fell and others brought to st Vincents and put to death."³

Clark himself returned to Louisville by an overland route. For his projected Detroit campaign he had requested reinforcements from Kentucky and Virginia. Had he been able to carry out his plans in 1779, British and Indian depredations against the Americans would have been made far more difficult and much of the bloodshed of the next twenty-five years might have been avoided. But his hopes were dashed. Of

¹ James, James A. (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781* (Illinois Historical Collections, VIII, Springfield, 1912), p. 298.

² Captain Leonard Helm, commandant at Vincennes.

³ James (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781*, p. 298.

the reinforcements he had counted on only one hundred and fifty arrived from Virginia, about one-third of what he had expected, and but thirty from Kentucky. "Never was a person more mortified than I was at this time, to see so fair an opportunity to push a victory; Detroit lost for want of a few men," wrote Clark.⁴ "Arranging things to the best advantage was now my principal Study. The Troops was divided between the posts of St Vincents Kohokias and Kaskaskias part to the Falls of Ohio. . . . myself to take up my quarters at the Falls as the most convenient Spot to have an eye over the whole each person marching to his post in Augst I arrived by Land [MS. imperfect] as far as White [MS. imperfect] in a few Days." He then proceeded to the Falls and on to Louisville.⁵

Thus, by the time the Revolutionary War came to the West, an overland route between the Falls and the Wabash was being used by Americans. On their journey they passed through a wilderness of forests and thickets abounding in all sorts of game. Indians from their towns on the Wabash and White rivers hunted here, and Indian braves, armed and incited by the British, made journeys this way a dangerous passage for Americans. Border warfare, cruel and bloody, marked the years following Clark's campaigns in the Western country, and traders risked their lives in every excursion across southern Indiana.

Post Vincennes, the western terminus of the trail, suffered with the times. Founded by the French perhaps as early as 1731, it remained until Clark's coming an isolated community first under French and after 1763 under British rule. Its inhabitants, indolent and unambitious, had traded with the Indians, and lived in peace and friendship with them. Their

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. cix-cx. Perhaps some of the men that did go to Vincennes marched overland from the Falls. See letter from William Shannon of Jefferson County, Kentucky, August 3, 1792, in Alvord, Clarence W. (ed.), *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790* (Illinois Historical Collection, V, Springfield, 1909), p. 130, which says: ". . . an expedition was then prepared against Detroit. Indeed part of the troops, with provisions and military stores were then actually on their march to St Vincens on the Wabash, where they were to meet those expected from Kentucky, and to wait until the ballance from the Illinois would come up. However the expedition fell through. . . ."

⁵ James (ed.), *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781*, p. 301.

government was the arbitrary rule of a commandant, who, with the help of the Catholic father, preserved fair order.

Clark's victory brought no improvement as far as the Post government was concerned. He had made his campaign under the authority of the Commonwealth of Virginia which claimed the territory northwest of the Ohio, and out of his conquests Virginia in 1778 organized the County of Illinois under supervision of a county lieutenant. The French system of local control by commandants and magistrates' courts was continued, and Colonel J. M. P. Le Gras was appointed commandant of Vincennes. Virginia, debt ridden by the Revolution and far away, made no provision for the county after 1781, when she agreed to cede her western lands to the United States. The garrison was withdrawn and local officials carried on as best they could without the backing of any strong authority.

Other factors were disruptive to the peace of the village. Following Clark's campaign, Americans began to settle in the neighborhood, and by 1786 they numbered about seventy families. Relations between them and the French were not smooth. A worse feature was that the Americans persistently indulged in liquor trade with the Indians.

The old trace now became closely linked with the events leading toward the establishment of peace, law and order, and organized government in the Western country. In 1785 and 1786 an observant traveler and patriotic American, interested in the advancement of the West, made two water journeys from Louisville to Vincennes and upon both occasions returned overland to the Falls. This was John Filson, explorer, surveyor, and author of the first History of Kentucky.

Filson proceeded down the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Louisville, then resumed his voyage down the river. He computed the distance from the Falls to the mouth of the Wabash as 318 miles, and from there to Vincennes as 132 miles. The overland route he estimated as only one hundred miles. Seven days after leaving the Falls the boat reached the Wabash and not until eleven days later did it arrive at Vincennes. However, Filson remarked that the distance up

the Wabash was covered in half that time by the French who knew the channel.⁶

Shortly after his arrival at Vincennes Filson decided to go back to Kentucky and return on a "trading voyage." To get back to Louisville he chose the much faster overland route to the Falls. "To effect this tour through the woods," he wrote,⁷ "as we were entirely unacquainted, it was necessary to hire indian guides, which for a few bottles of Whisky was soon procured, the Vermillion Chief his adopted Son and a Delaware offered their Service, these with a french Gentⁿ. who understood their language were our Companions and perhaps the best in Such a Situation that the world could afford. I Cannot Say that I ever was suspicious or had the least reason to be so of any ill design by them, on the Contrary they manifested the greatest Care & friend^p hunted for us, Cooked our food, and watched our nocturnal hours to prevent surprise, the old Chief was pleased to Call me his son and gave me the name of Muchoowoch which in his language was a Wolf, this man was of a remarkable honest penetrating ingenuous, friendly disposition, as I experienced more afterward, many remarks of friendship induced me to regard him, numerous were the branches he broke off to prevent their Striking or tearing me as I rode after him, and frequently wishing he Could Converse with me, upon this I reflected that a good Disposition and repeated kindness are Great unducements to solid friendship abstracted from every other motive. Without regard to Colour or nation or language, We arrived at the falls of ohio in 9 Days the Country through which we passed have a diversity of Soil but in no part so fertile as Kentucke, nor so well watered as might be desired, as extensive tracts are dry brushy Pareries and Scarce of timber a river whose water is of a blueish appearance but from what Cause I know not runs through this Country into Ohio and another Called reviere la Blanch or White river runs into ouabach 12 leagues below the Post, the head branches of this

⁶ Bond, Beverley W., Jr., "Two Westward Journeys of John Filson, 1785," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, IX (1922), 324-25.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 329-30.

river I am well told are but about 12 miles from Ohio above the rapids and by a Small portage may form a water passage across the Country into ouabache which no doubt will answer a more Valuable purpose for transporting property than a great road, the difference between a land & water Carryage I saw plainly exemplified in that Country, for from the rapids of Ohio to Danville in Kentucke is about 80 miles by land and from the rapids to Post st Vincent by water is above 450, Yet 12 Shillings pr hundred wt. is the freight of the latter, and 20 Shillings the Carriage of the former. . . ."

Filson has left another account of the journey in which he gives a more detailed description of the route he followed. From this, apparently, they did not follow a clearly defined path all the way; at times they seem to have made their way in the general direction of their destination as best they could by beds of streams and through uncut woods.⁸ "Departed from Post St Vincent the 6th day of aug^t 1785 at 9 O'Clock A. M. on a Journey to the falls of Ohio, Capt Pierrault, Captⁿ Buckley & myself in Company with three indians (Madmoiselle, his adopted son, & a Delaware, the first a Sachem of the Vermillion tribe) arrived in the evening to white river Lodged comfortably under the Spreading branches of an ancient poplar, on the eastern bank. feasted next morning on a young raccoon we killed the evening before which was dressed by the indians

"Sunday morning aug^t 7th Continued our Journey in an eastward direction as we did the preceeding day until we Came to Patoka about 4 miles distance this small river appears to run a S W Course its Confluence with Wabashe is about 2 miles below the Mouth of white river after passing 2 miles up Patoka in ENE direction we Crossed and went by the Gen^l Course of that river 6 miles, in a NE direction our passage up Patoka was in a wide extended Bottom exceeding fertile Covered with abundance of grass this ground we supposed was exceeding Swampy during the Winter & Spring Season but observing higher ground for Cultivation at a Small

⁸ Journal of journey from Vincennes to Falls of Ohio, 1785. Draper MSS. 10ccb, Wisconsin Historical Society. Photostat in Indiana Historical Society Library.

distance we Concluded that this wet ground would be exceedingly interesting to the proprietor for meadow here our indians killed two raccoon in Mid day arrived at 2 P. M. at a pond whose water was good kindled a fire & prepared our prey for food.—From thence Steered a ESE Course leaving patoka after passing a mile Came upon a drain of water passing through extensive pararies, interspersed as by art, with groves and long reaches of different Species of trees and Covered richly with grass that almost Concealed our horses passing through. No good water, traveled this afternoon about 3 miles and encamped near the afors^d drain lodged Comfortably. Next Morning augt 8th Continued our Journey through the pareries, on an easterly Course, after passing about 3 miles We Came over a number of small drains which soon formed a large Channel and by its meanders Sometimes NE & at others . . . east we passed down a large Bottom for about 6 Miles until we came to a large Channel by the indians Called Big river and little water therein Shortly after passing this our guides killed a fine Buck our Course from this about east for 3 miles to Blue river this river is 114 y^d. wide here Crossed it at right angles this river appears to run a SW & S Course Big river affors^d a S cour[se] Joins it at 5 miles below our Crossing. On the easterly Bank of blue river kindled a fire and dined on a part of the buck we had killed. afterward proceeded by direction of our guides eastwardly by about 5 miles up Blue river which a little above where we dined made a turn—its Course N of West left the river in the evening which their appeared to be a NE Course from us and Continued our former Course a Small distance, and encamped the weather serene lodged comfortably and next morning (being Tuesday augt 9th) Continued our Journey eastward, passed Some hilly land, and Some low level ground not Very fertile which was much Cut by Water—and at Some Seasons might Contain large Streams, but was now almost dry; one of them directing its Course eastward, we passed down the Same, by its meanders. Great difficulty in Crossing the Cuts and passing through Brambly woods. bad water, and Scarce. left the affores^d Creek to the right hand and progressing about 4 miles further encamped. about noon we

6 killed a monstrous bear, kindled a fire this evening and prepared Some food. this day our Journey Might be 20 miles lodged Comfortably and next morning Wednesday Augt 10th Continued our Journey East 2 miles, when Coming to a path our guides went on it North 2 1/2 miles and afterwards directed their Course NE which in about 10 miles travel from morning brought us to Blue river again here we arrived about noon & Dined on the bank. In the afternoon Steered eas[t]ward and after passing about 6 miles in that direction Came into thickets almost impassable and was obliged to go north to extricate ourselves and accidentally found a fine Spring the Stream of which ran but a little distance then we encamped Our Journey this day might be 15 miles a great deal of good limestone land full of Sinks and badly water[ed] From the Sinking Spring thursday aug 11th we Continue our Journey east 3 miles to Deer Creek Crossed it Nearly at right angles. Continued our Course 2 miles further, and Came near blue river again. We then directed our Course ESE & passing a M further Crossed Deer Creek which appeared to run a NW Course Continued ESE 2 miles further and Crossed Stoney Creek which directed its Course as the affors^d passed on our ESE Course 1/2 miles further crossed a Small Branch and then encamped for Dinner at 12 O'Clock thin Stream run into Ohio River & the land through which we passed fertile & level except Sinks holes & not many Springs Continued our Course ESE in the afternoon 3 miles and encamped on a Branch which directed its Course to the [MS. illegible] near which we killed a monstrous he Bear and [MS. illegible] part of it four our provision this day our journey might be [MS. illegible] miles Much water. Friday morning 12th day of augt Steered a SE Course and Soon passed the dividing ridge which divide the waters that fall into ohio from them that fall into Blue river after passing 6 miles Came upon a Creek that runs S into ohio passed about noon over the head branches of another Creek passed many brushy Pararies and encamping at noon had traveled about 12 miles the land in large good but badly watered traveled this afternoon about 6 M & Camped on a Branch of Indian C Saturday morning, Aug 13, passed down the Branch to indian Creek down which we pass a little way but finding it not

[MS. illegible] our Course, it being SE we cross^d it and Soon Came into exceeding brushy Pararies almost impassable distress^d for water altered our Cours to S, and passing about 3 miles Came to a large branch of Indian Creek that run a SW Course we Steered from this a SSE Course but after passing 3 miles Came into the brushy pareries, our old Chief then directed his course E, and Came in the even[*in*]g on a large Branch of the last S^d branch killed a turkey We here encamped our Journey this day not more than [MS. blank] We Spread our tent. a wet night lay tolerably well. Sunday morning aug^t 14 Continued our Journey SE passing about 3 miles Came upon a Branch of Silver Creek traveled 4 miles on this Branch and Came to the main Branch which run SSE leaving it to the right hand Cross a branch that run west to meet the other here we Changed our Course to S. 3 miles & encamped. This day we traveled about 18 miles generally good land but badly watered Sunday night rested well. Monday morning aug 15th Continued our Journey S. endeavoring to find Ohio."

Filson returned to Vincennes by water on his trading journey, arriving about Christmas time. The Indians in the region north of the Ohio were becoming increasingly hostile to the Americans at the Post, and he found the little town isolated and in a high state of alarm. The breach between the French and the Americans seemed widened rather than otherwise by the Indian treacheries against the latter.

On March 16, 1786, Filson joined with some of the Americans in an appeal to George Rogers Clark to march again to the Wabash and relieve the inhabitants. On the first of June he prepared a petition to Congress on behalf of the Americans, stating that they were exposed "daily to danger and frequent death" and in need of military protection.⁹

That same night Filson came near death himself. Determined to carry back firsthand news of the distress of the settlement, he and three companions left Vincennes and started

⁹ Helderman, Leonard C. (ed.), "Danger on the Wabash; Vincennes Letters of 1786," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIV (1938), 456-58. See also Helderman, "John Filson's Narrative of his Defeat on the Wabash, 1786," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XII (1938), 187-88.

down the Wabash bound for Louisville. Near the mouth of White River they were spied by a party of Indians. Two of Filson's companions were killed outright, but the third hid himself beneath a fallen tree. Filson escaped into the woods, and his pursuers, either confused by his circuitous movements or diverted by a supply of "spirituous liquor" on board the abandoned boat, gave up the chase.¹⁰

After a ten-day recuperation Filson decided to set out for the Falls by the overland trail. He started on the night of June 12. "The moon shone with a agreeable lustre," he wrote,¹¹ "and, accompanied a small distance by some of our most valuable friends, we directed our course for the falls of Ohio; and during the nocturnal hours traveled about fifteen miles: Although every step was disagreeable through brushy woods, and swampy grounds, yet safety from savages, afforded us some pleasure: next day rafted over White river, A. M., continuing our course one and a half point south of east; concluding ourselves out of the reach of the savages lurking around the Post.

"The country lying between the Post and Louisville or Clarksville has a diversity of soil and timber and this being my second tour, suppose myself able to form a good judgment thereof; which for the information and satisfaction of my gentle reader for whose sake I write; have delineated my two journeys on my map of the country, which from my own and some others observation I rest assured, is the best that can be given at this day. The explanation thereof, with the plan annexed, points out the particulars referring thereto. I concluded the journey in seven painful, days and arrived safe at the falls of Ohio."

¹⁰ Helderman, "John Filson's Narrative of his Defeat on the Wabash, 1786," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XII, 188-90. This narrative is printed with some modification in Durrett, Reuben T., *John Filson, The First Historian of Kentucky* . . . (*Filson Club Publications Number One*, Louisville, 1884), pp. 58-65.

¹¹ Helderman, "John Filson's Narrative of His Defeat on the Wabash, 1786," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XII, 194. As Helderman states, Filson implies that he made a map of the country between Vincennes and Louisville, but no such map has been found. Two years earlier Filson's map of Kentucky had been published. Perhaps he contemplated expanding this to include southern Indiana.

During the summer of 1786 Vincennes was besieged by a party of 450 Indians from the Upper Wabash bent on wiping out the Americans. The siege was conducted "with all the band of horrors" that usually characterized Indian encampments on such occasions. Intervention by Colonel Le Gras with the militia saved the day, but the Indians as they withdrew vowed that they would return in the fall and wipe out the town. Under this threat the French and Americans at the Post joined together in sending duplicate expresses, one by land and one by water, to General Clark at the Falls begging for aid.¹²

By August, 1786, the Indians of the whole Northwest were on the warpath. American efforts to define an Indian boundary line at Fort McIntosh the year before had alarmed them, and the British labored to increase their hostility toward the Americans. All the Americans who had settled near Vincennes and in Clark's Grant at the Falls were either killed or forced to take refuge in the towns. Travel on the Ohio and Wabash rivers was hazardous, and raiding parties crossed over into Kentucky and struck at settlements there.

Early in August, under order of the Executive Board of Virginia, field officers of the Kentucky district, determined to check the depredations and weary of waiting for action by the Confederation, met at Harrodsburg and planned an expedition to the Wabash. One half the militia, on foot or on horseback as they might choose, under the command of their county officers, were to assemble at Clarksville at the Falls. One pack horse was to be provided for every four men, as well as ammunition and provision for fifty days. The expedition was to be commanded by General Clark, who had been operating against the Indians in the Ohio country.

From the first things went badly. The draft in Kentucky met with opposition. Supplies were furnished grudgingly. By the middle of September only half the number of men expected had assembled. In the Clarksville encampment discord arose over the plan of march. Clark was for setting out directly for the Indian towns, but finally conceded to the plan of first

¹² *Ibid.*, XII, 197, 198; Helderman (ed.), "Danger on the Wabash, 1786," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIV, 458-67.

marching to Vincennes. He ordered supplies sent by keelboat down the Ohio and up the Wabash and on September 17, the troops and pack horses set out over the old trail to the Wabash.¹³ This is probably the first white troop movement of any size to use the trace, which, in subsequent movements, as we shall see, was to be referred to as "Clark's trace."

Scarcely had the march started when dissension and disorder became apparent. It took the little army seven days to go from the Falls to Vincennes, "although willing soldiers," wrote one historian,¹⁴ "could have covered the longer distance to the enemy and been at grips with them in less than half that time."¹⁵ The Lincoln troops," he continued, "whom Logan had left in command of one Colonel Barrett and who were generally drafted men, were unruly, and throughout the hot dusty march were constantly grumbling. Many of the cattle were lost on the way—a pretty sure sign of sulking neglect of duty. Captain Gaines, commanding the volunteer troops of horse from Fayette, said 'During the march, at a place called French Lick, there was a meeting of the whole of Col. James Barret's command, respecting a horse which had been taken for the adjutant general to ride. The whole of them fired off their guns in defiance of the orders of the Genl, by which the horse had been taken. The Colonel, however, was arrested, tried, and Repremanded, which delayed us for a few hours; we then marched on.' "

The disposition of the men did not improve upon reaching Vincennes. The keelboats carrying stores and supplies were delayed by low waters and for nine days the restless troops waited—hunger and inactivity proved almost fatal. When the boats finally did arrive and it was learned that at least half

¹³ Helderman (ed.), "Danger on the Wabash, 1786," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIV, 458-67; Helderman, Leonard C., "The Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786-1787," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (1938-39), 327; Bodley, Temple, *George Rogers Clark: His Life and Public Service* (Boston & New York, 1926), p. 287.

¹⁴ Bodley, *George Rogers Clark*, p. 287, quoting Captain Craig's and Captain Gaines's accounts in the Draper MSS., Wisconsin Historical Society.

¹⁵ Since it had taken Filson seven days to cover this distance, perhaps the army did not move as slowly as Bodley implies.

their cargo had been ruined by the delay or excessive heat, insubordination became increasingly open.¹⁶

Clark, with an energy remindful of his campaign against Kaskaskia and Vincennes, rallied his forces, impressed supplies, gathered volunteers from among the Americans and French at the Post, and started up the Wabash. That he had not succeeded in instilling in his men the spirit of the former campaign was soon apparent. As they approached the Indian country, most of them seemed to lose what little heart they might have had for the fight. Between three and four hundred deserted outright, and Clark, threatened with virtual mutiny, abandoned the expedition and retreated to Vincennes.¹⁷ Most of the Kentucky troops did not hesitate even here, but made for home, speeding along the old trace and reaching the Falls in a remarkably short time, considering how long they had taken to march to Vincennes. They sped past Fort Finney on the Ohio opposite Louisville in what Captain Walter Finney described as "vile disorder." Determined not to leave Vincennes completely unprotected during the winter, a board of the field officers organized a garrison which remained until the following spring.

¹⁶ Helderman, "Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, 327; Butler, *History of Kentucky*, p. 151.

¹⁷ See Butler, *History of Kentucky*, pp. 151-52; Helderman, "Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786-1787," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, 327-28. See also Josiah Harmar to the Secretary of War, in Smith, William Henry (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair* . . . (2 volumes. Cincinnati, 1882), II, 19.

HARMAR'S ROUTE

THE next important figure to leave an account of his journey across southern Indiana was General Josiah Harmar, commander of the Army of the Ohio. The winter of 1786-87 was not a happy one at Vincennes. The garrison left by Clark was maintained by impressing supplies from the citizens of the town and was undisciplined and unruly. On April 24, 1787, the Congress, upon recommendation of the Secretary of War, resolved that the commander of the Army of the Ohio should take "immediate and efficient measures for dispossessing a body of men who have in a lawless and unauthorised manner taken possession of post St Vincents in defiance of the proclamations and authority of the United States and that he employ the whole or such part of the force under his command as he shall judge necessary to effect the Object."¹

Harmar's expedition arrived at Vincennes in June, going down the Ohio to a landing opposite "Delaware Old Town," about eight miles above Green River and eighty miles below the Falls, and marching due north from there to a crossing of White River about fifteen miles below the Forks, and then to Vincennes. His orders had been to march overland from the Falls, but this trip would have required seventy pack horses at the rate of fifty cents a day, and Harmar considered so great an expense unjustified.²

This five-day march through the woods seems to have followed the course of the old Red Banks Trace that ran from the site of Henderson, Kentucky, to Vincennes. It was far from an agreeable journey. Before disembarking for their overland journey each of the men drew a sixteen-pound ration of flour which he had to transport on his back along with his arms. "Commenced our march early in the morning

¹ *Journal of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 volumes. Library of Congress edition. Washington, D. C., 1904-37), XXXII, 231. See also Secretary of War to Harmar, April 26, 1787, Harmar Papers, V, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

² Harmar to Secretary of War, in Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 23-24.

[July 11]," wrote Joseph Buell, one of the party. "The weather is extremely hot, and the men weary and faint. Many of them threw away their flour. During the first day, I carried my load of flour; but after that put it on a pack horse. We were seven days on the march, and had a fatiguing, tedious tour of it—suffering much from want of water. The troops marched in four columns, in the most perfect order, with a drummer at the head of each; to give and answer signals for the halting and forward movements of the divisions."³

Consideration of the wilderness through which these columns passed makes it doubtful that such perfect order was maintained as this indicates. Major Ebenezer Denny's "Military Journal" gives a sketch of the plan of march which is indeed elaborate.⁴ It shows four columns headed by drums and flanked on either side by a "sub flank" and an "out flank." Cattle and horses were placed in the middle, and there was a rear guard composed of a sergeant and twelve men. Under date of July 13, Denny recorded that they passed through "a level open country. Buffalo numerous in the woods. Several seen standing and gazing at the men, appearing to hearken to the drum." The next day they passed through a "thicket of plum and rose bushes." "Opened our way through," he wrote. "Some delay and disorder. Columns unable to keep their proper distances. Cattle scattered. Halted until the cattle were collected."⁵

Harmar described Vincennes as a town of "near four hundred houses—log and bark—out-houses, barns, etc.; the number of inhabitants, about nine hundred souls, French, and about four hundred souls, Americans."⁶ The sudden rise in the American population he attributed to a migration from

³"Journal of Joseph Buell," in Hildreth, Samuel P., *Pioneer History: Being an Account of the First Examination of the Ohio Valley* . . . (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 154. See also Harmar to Secretary of War, August 7, 1787, in Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 27.

⁴Denny, William H., "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, . . . with an Introductory Memoir," in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, VII (1860), 304.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Harmar to Secretary of War, August 7, 1787, in Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 27.

Kentucky, observing that "many of General Clarke's militia on their march toward the Vermillion town, had cast their eyes on choice lands, and . . . had made what they called tomahawk rights."⁷

Harmar visited posts in Illinois and returned to Vincennes where he met the Wea and Piankashaw in council. Leaving Major John F. Hamtramck with a garrison of ninety-five men, he set out for the Falls on the first of October with a company of seventy-one.

Buell, who was of the company, remarked that this march was more pleasant than the one up to Vincennes had been, but still fatiguing.⁸ Harmar in his report to the Secretary of War stated:⁹ "We marched along what is called Clarke's Trace, and arrived on the 7th October at the Rapids of the Ohio. I was mistaken, in a former letter, concerning the distance; it is about one hundred and thirty miles.¹⁰ We saw no Indians or signs of Indians. From the Falls to the Post the country is generally hilly, and good wheat land."

A comparison of distances mentioned in Harmar's diary and Major Denny's "Journal" is interesting. Here is Harmar's account:¹¹

"October 1st—Monday—exceeding pleasant day—march this day from Post. . . .

"October 2nd—Tuesday—very fine day—march'd this Day and cross'd the west fork of White river just above its junction about 5 miles beyond it & there Encamp'd—This day march 16 miles—

"October 3rd—Wednesday—Very fair weather—march'd and crossed the other fork of White River . . . 25 miles.

"October 4th—Thursday—Very fine weather march'd to the Lick about 16 miles where we Encamped. Great quantity of Bufalo at this Lick—

⁷ Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 29.

⁸ Hildreth, *Pioneer History*, pp. 157-58.

⁹ Harmar to the Secretary of War, November 24, 1787, in Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 34.

¹⁰ In a letter to the Secretary of War, May 14, 1787, Harmar stated the distance from the Falls to Vincennes by land to be about ninety miles. *Ibid.*, II, 21.

¹¹ Harmar Papers, William L. Clements Library.

"October 5th—Marched from the Lick to within 8 miles of the Blue River—This days march about 18 miles—

"October 6th. Saturday—very fine weather. March'd and crossed the blue River and Encamp'd in the barrens—this days march 25 Miles—no water for 12 miles—

"October 7th. Sunday—rainy day. Marched across the Nobs and struck the fort at about a march of 21 miles this day. Total distance from this Post to the falls of the Ohio by what is called *Clark's trace* I make to be about 130 Miles—"

Major Denny's account follows:¹²

"Oct. 1st.—Set out with the commandant and the two companies; marched to a branch of the river De Shay, supposed to be nine miles.

"2d—Crossed the west fork of White river and encamped on a branch, 20

"3d.—Crossed and encamped on north fork of White river, 24

"4th.—Reached the Great Lick, 18

"5th.—Branch of Patoka, 16

"6th.—Branch of Blue river, 25

"7th.—Rapids, 18

130

"In this route we pursued General Clark's trace, made a twelvemonth ago, on his way against the Wabash Indians. First and second day passed through tolerable land; third day very indifferent, owing to the path keeping about three and four miles distant, for thirty miles up the north fork of White river, which led us through neither rich nor level land, but just across the heads of gullies leading into White river. Fourth day's march, passed over a great deal of good land, particularly near the Great Lick, which is not far distant from the road. When within a few miles of the Lick, our hunters had leave to go ahead. Presently heard the report of both their guns, and in a few minutes five buffaloes made their appearance, bearing furiously toward the head of the column. When within fifty

¹² "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny," in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, VII, 312-13.

paces, the men in front were permitted to fire; this turned the heads of the animals; they passed along and received the fire of the whole line. Three only were shot down, near the rear, where they approached within twenty paces. Fifth day's march, through pretty good land. Sixth, barren. Seventh, broken with knobs and small mountains, until we got within seven or eight miles of the Rapids, when the land became level and of the first quality."

Back at Vincennes Major Hamtramck carried on until the organization of Knox County in 1790. Under his supervision a more orderly condition of affairs prevailed, but it was no easy job to steer a wise course through the local political feuds. He issued a proclamation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, took steps to improve the local government, and heartily recommended the establishment of stronger authority by the General Government.

Antoine Saugrain, a French scientist and physician, was at the post in 1788. He found the situation healthy, the climate good—very like that of Paris, save colder. Prices were high. The inhabitants, most of whom were French, devoted their time to the chase. Their gardens were poor, and cattle was obtainable only at the Falls, and had to be brought from there. "The danger from the savages is nothing according to what they say," he wrote, "but for me, I would not have a dwelling more than a mile or two from the village and with two good neighbors. It is very hard to bring merchandise, etc., overland from the Falls, for we passed over the road only with great difficulty. By water it is simple enough, and a fairly large boat with six oars can be brought up easily."¹³

¹³ Translated from Seltier, H. Fouré (ed.), *L'Odyssée Américaine D'Une Famille Française. Le Docteur Antoine Saugrain* . . . (Institut Français de Washington. Baltimore, 1936), pp. 54-57.

HECKEWELDER'S ACCOUNT

UNDER the Ordinance of 1787 the capital of the Northwest Territory was established at Marietta with Arthur St. Clair as governor. Two and a half years later Knox County was organized as part of the Territory with Vincennes as its capital. Indecisive Indian campaigns marked the first years of the new regime. Soldiers and messengers followed the old trail to and from the Indian towns and camps, and between Vincennes and Marietta.

In 1792 a party of Indian chiefs escorted by a Moravian missionary passed that way. Following St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in 1791, effort was concentrated on settling the Indian troubles by negotiation, and in September, 1792, General Rufus Putnam met with the Wabash Indians in council at Vincennes. The meetings were amiable, but the terms as finally agreed to were so vague that the treaty was never ratified by the Senate. The Indians acknowledged the grants to the French at Vincennes, but insisted that the Ohio River remain forever the boundary between the Indians and the Americans. After negotiations were concluded, Putnam planned to escort several of the chiefs to Philadelphia to meet the President; but when the time for departure came, Putnam was too ill to travel, and it was arranged that John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary to the Indians who had accompanied Putnam to Vincennes, should go with them to Marietta where they would wait for Putnam.

On the sixth of October Heckewelder and the chiefs, with guides and hunters, set out on the old trail to the Falls. On the first day of the journey¹ they passed "through a fine rich level country" inhaling "the pleasant odor of quantities of ripe persimmons," and crossed the White River. The hunters shot five wild turkeys. The next day they passed along the East Fork of the White River through a wilderness of grape-

¹See "Narrative of John Heckewelder's Journey to the Wabash," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 173-74.

vines and bushes. A buffalo estimated to weigh eight hundred pounds was killed. The third day they marched "through a wilderness and over steep, disagreeable mountains." The next day they passed by a salt lick, probably French Lick, and shortly thereafter the hunters fired into a herd of buffalo that bore down on them, killing one and wounding another. In the evening the party feasted on buffalo meat and several of the Indians made such gluttons of themselves that they became sick. On the eleventh, a thunderstorm broke and the rain fell in torrents. "We were only 18 miles from Fort Steuben,"² wrote Heckewelder, "but in a neighborhood through which the Miami warriors frequently pass on their way to Kentucky and are also frequently pursued by those from there. We had cause for anxiety, viz., that if the warriors had recently committed ravages in Kentucky and they were pursued, our Indians would have to pay the penalty. For this reason Mr. Prior spoke with them and the guides, and commanded a forced march. We had scarcely proceeded half a mile when a similar thundergust overtook us; it continued so long, that at 1 o'clock at night, when we arrived at Clarkville and I stepped down from my horse, the water oozed out at the tops of my boots, although I wore two great coats, one over the other and I tried to protect myself as well as possible." The journey from the Falls to Marietta was made on the Ohio in canoes.

² At the site of Jeffersonville, Indiana, formerly called Fort Finney.

TRAVELERS' ACCOUNTS

PEACEFUL negotiations with the savages failing, a campaign under Anthony Wayne was launched against the Miami which ended in decisive victory for the Americans at Fallen Timbers in 1794. The Treaty of Greenville which followed Wayne's victory ushered in a period of comparative peace from Indian hostilities. All the lands within the present bounds of Indiana, with the exception of six defined areas, remained in Indian hands. One of these was the town of Vincennes and the adjacent land. Another was the tract of 150,000 acres at the Rapids of the Ohio designated as the Illinois Grant or Clark's Grant. This latter reservation was made by Virginia when she deeded her lands in the Northwest to the United States, with the stipulation that it be divided among General Clark and the soldiers of his Kaskaskia-Vincennes expedition of 1778.

Now would-be settlers, less fearful of Indian war parties, streamed across the mountains into Kentucky and sailed down the Ohio bound for Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Water routes were far cheaper and easier for settlers encumbered with household goods, and the old trail across southern Indiana probably did not accommodate many of them on their westward journeys. However, as the two settled areas of southern Indiana, Clarksville and Clark's Grant and Vincennes and its neighborhood, comprised its termini, it was used more and more by the established settlers.

Clarksville, the little town at the Falls, had been laid out under an act of the Virginia General Assembly in October, 1783. The purchaser of each half-acre lot was required to build, within three years of purchase, a house twenty by eighteen feet, with a brick or stone chimney.¹ Despite careful plans and ambitious prospects the town did not prosper. It accommodated travelers bound for Vincennes and served as a point of departure for troops going into the Indian country.

¹ Dillon, John B., *History of Indiana* . . . (Indianapolis, 1859), p. 180.

But one writer disposed of it thus airily: "Clarksville, a small settlement in the N. W. territory, which contained, in 1791, about 60 souls. It is situated on the northern bank of the Ohio, opposite Louisville, a mile below the Rapids, and 100 miles S. E. of Post Vincent. It is frequently flooded, when the river is high, and inhabited by people who cannot, at present, find a better situation."² Governor St. Clair paused there on his way to Kaskaskia in 1790 and established civil authority by appointing William Clark a justice of the peace and a captain in the militia.

The era of peace following the Treaty of Greenville brought to the western country an influx of European travelers and scientists who visited the towns, studied the climate, soil, vegetation, and animal life, and the economic possibilities of the new country, and wrote accounts of their findings, journals of their travels, and guidebooks for future emigrants.

The French botanist André Michaux made excursions into the western country from 1793 to 1796, and upon one of his journeys passed over the old trail from the Falls to Vincennes. His brief comments are interesting.³

"Sunday 9th of August 1795, started from Louisville and slept at Clarksville. Two miles from Louisville on the opposite Bank of the Ohio.

"The 10th we set out and arrived at Post Vincennes situate on the Wabash River on Thursday the 13th of August in the evening. The distance is considered to be one hundred and twenty-five Miles. On the day of our arrival we crossed a River about 20 miles before reaching Post Vincennes and although the Waters were then very low we were on the point of making a Raft for the Country is not inhabited along this Road. Of all the Journeys I have made in America in the past 10 years this is one of the most difficult owing to the quantity of Trees overturned by storms, to the thick brushwood through which one is obliged to pass; to the numbers of Flies by which one is devoured, etc.

"The 14th, 15th and Sunday the 16th of August I was

² Morse, Jedidiah, *The American Gazetteer* . . . (Boston, 1797).

³ Michaux, André, "Journal of Travels into Kentucky; July 15, 1793-April 11, 1796," in Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, III, 66-67.

obliged to rest having arrived almost ill. My horse, while trying to jump over the trunk of a large fallen tree, fell and threw me a great distance and I suffered for several days from an injury to the lower part of the Chest on the left side because the trigger of my gun had struck there."

By this time, Michaux was a hardened explorer and traveler, having botanized through the swamps of Florida and the wilds of the Hudson's Bay country. That he should comment so forcibly on the difficulties of Indiana travel indicates that the trail was a poor one indeed and that travel along that way was not easy.

The next year, 1795, another Frenchman, Constantin Volney, came to America and left a record of his survey of the climate and soil and the aborigines of the places he visited. In his travels by the old trail across southern Indiana, he crossed the Ohio at Louisville and waited eight hours until "a caravan . . . of four or five horsemen" had assembled, which was "necessary to travel upwards of 100 miles of woods and meadows, so desart as not to contain a solitary hut." The loneliness of the journey seemed to weigh on him. ". . . I traversed one hundred and twenty miles of forest, from Louisville, near the rapids of Ohio, to Vincennes, on the Wabash, without lighting on a hut, and, what surprised me still more, without hearing the voice of a bird, though in the month of July." The caravan moved rapidly through the wilderness and reached Vincennes in three days.⁴

During the winter of 1796-97 Moses Austin, merchant and mine owner in the East, father of Stephen F. Austin, founder of the first American colony in Texas, journeyed out to southern Missouri to make a reconnaissance of the lead mines there. Late in December he reached Louisville, which he described as a town of about 30 houses, none of them "elegant," and affording the traveler no tavern that deserved "a better name than that of Grog Shop." Its situation he found "beautiful," but he felt that the "handy work of Man

⁴ Volney, Constantin F., *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* . . . ([Philadelphia] 1804), pp. 331-32. The map facing page 1 shows a road from Clarksville to Vincennes.

has insted of improving destory.d the works of Nature and made it a detestable place.”⁵

After this damning pronouncement he left the sorry evidence of man's "handy work" and plunged with his two companions into the wilderness of southern Indiana. He crossed the Ohio partly by boat⁶ and partly on the ice and spent the night of December 29 at Clarksville. Here is his account of the journey to Vincennes:⁷

"Clerks Ville is a poor place hardly Deserving Notice consisting of Six Cabbins and One Logg Hous with a Stone chimney. its 3 Miles from Louis Ville. up the Ohio from Clerks Ville is a small Fort Command.d by Lieut. Webster with 45 or 50 men."⁸

"30th. at Day light I made myself ready to take the Trace to Post St. Vincennes, but unfortunat for me a Very heavy snow fell in the night which had so obscured the Trace that not a foot Step could be seen. thus Situated I was at a stand, but beeing informed that the Trees had been mark.d, by keeping of which I could finde the way, with this information I left the Ohio and that Evening arriv.d safe at Blue river 30 Miles from Clerks Ville on the banks of which I found an Indian Camp of Wyandots fifteen in Number with an Old Cheef. I Staid the Night and was Treat.d with great Politeness and friendship. the Cheef ordered a Squah to Dress my supper, which she did in a short time nor do I remember to have ever eaten a better Dish of Veneson and Bare Stake. at Day light he ordered his Squah to do the same, and after takeing my Brakefast I took leave of the

⁵ Garrison, George P. (ed.), "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey from the Lead Mines in County of Wythe in the State of Virginia to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana West of the Mississippi, 1796-1797," in *American Historical Review*, V (1899-1900), 527.

⁶ On June 16, 1796, Andrew Heath was granted a licence to operate a ferry across the Ohio from Clarksville. Perhaps it was his boat that Austin used. Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (volumes I- , Washington, D. C., 1934-), III, 445.

⁷ Garrison (ed.), "A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey," in *American Historical Review*, V, 527-28.

⁸ Fort Finney, later Steuben, at the site of Jeffersonville. See previous mention of Clarksville, *ante*, p. 208.

friendly Wyandots presenting to the Two Squahs that had attend me each a String of Beeds.

"31th I arriv.d at Night at a Camp said to be 36 Miles from Blue river which had been made use of the Night before by a Company of men which I pass.d in the Day from St Vincennes bound to Kentucky. this Day I come up and meet with a number of Hunting Indians all of which were friendly. the Snow beeing deep and the weather Cold I did not sleep so well as I could have wished and by times I started on my road determin'd that Night to reach Vincennes but after a hard Days ride I late at Night arriv.d at Mr Harvis 5 miles from Vincennes where I found good quarters.

"The Country from the Ohio to Vincennes is in general good and will afford Valuable settlement and is Well water.d. the Onely River at which a Traveller is subject to meet with Delay or difficulty in passing, is Blue river which in the spring is commonly high. At White River there is a good Boat at which you may pass at any time or on the Ice which was the way I pass.d all the waters from the Ohio to Vincennes. the severity of the winter had mad[e] all the rivers passable on the Ice. White River is a delightfull River and navigable for the Boats Most parts of the Year 150 mils up. its about 260 Yards wide where I pass.d it and I was told the Currint is moderate and the Navigation as easy as any River in the Western World. this River may be Forded in summer At the Delaware Village about a Mile and half above the road but its attended with great Danger the whole of the River from side to side beeing a quick sand, and I was told by a Number of Gentl.^m that sundry Horses was lost last Summer in attempting the forde by those unacquainted with It. the Indian Village Just mention.d I was inform.d contained about 20 famelies which have return.d to it with in the last Year after an absence of Ten Years.

"1th January, 1797 on Monday I arriv.d at the Town of St Vincennes which I found to be much larger then I had an Idea of, the situation is quite Charming nor can fancy paint a more desireable Spot.

"From Harvies to Vincennes five Miles is an Open Champaign Country and Extremely fertile interspersed with

Island of Trees and plains or prairies quite to the banks of the Wabash."

Austin reveals two interesting facts about the old trail. In the first place, by this time, it was marked so that a stranger could follow it without fear of going astray.⁹ Secondly, there was a boat of some sort available at the White River crossing. Perhaps this was Joshua Harbin's ferry, which was established about this time on White River northwest of the later site of White Oak Springs, now Petersburg.¹⁰

Austin described Vincennes as having two hundred houses, which were generally small, badly finished one-storied affairs. Only three-quarters of them were inhabited, since the Greenville Treaty had freed the neighborhood of Indian threats and the Americans had gone out to their farms. The town, however, seemed to show promise of future prosperity. Its society he found agreeable, and Mr. Small's tavern, the only one in town, offered him agreeable service. On the fifth of January he set out for Kaskaskia.

After the organization of the territory a new group of men passed over the crude trails and traces of the Northwest in all seasons and all kinds of weather. These were the judges and barristers who attended the General Court held at the various seats of justice.

⁹ The road was probably marked by blazes where slices of bark were chopped off the trunks of the trees along the way. Some years later one traveler observed that when a new road was surveyed, the trees were cut and the stumps were left to rot. Then the trees on each side of this pathway were blazed to distinguish it from a private road leading to a farm. Blazed roads were called open roads. See Fordham, Elias Pym, *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky . . . 1817-1818*, edited by Frederick A. Ogg (Cleveland, 1906), pp. 100-1 and note. Another traveler noted that the traces marked by notching the bark of the trees—one notch for a foot path, two for a bridle path, and three for a wagon road. Harris, William Tell, *Remarks Made During a Tour Through the United States of America, in the Years 1817, 1818, and 1819* (London, 1821), p. 139n.

¹⁰ See map in Margaret Story Jean and Aline Jean Treanor, "The First Families of White Oak Springs," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI (1935), 291. On June 23, 1796, two ferry licenses were issued to Robert Buntin, clerk of Knox County, "for the Convenience of Knox County." Perhaps Harbin received one of these. Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, III, 445.

Their journeys were unavoidably hard and wearing. The judges and lawyers, in parties of five or six, traveled on horseback from one court to another, through woods uninterrupted by any habitation except an occasional Indian village. With so few roads open, their routes were necessarily circuitous, and it often required six, eight, or sometimes ten days to go from one county seat to another. Almost all the streams had to be forded or swum, and Jacob Burnet recalled years later that the common question when purchasing a horse was, "Is he a good swimmer?" All their supplies, including their own food and the forage for the horses, had to be taken with them on pack horses. Sometimes small quantities of corn might be purchased from the Indians.

Burnet, an energetic young man from New Jersey who settled in Cincinnati in 1796, declared that he never missed a term of the courts in Hamilton or St. Clair counties, and he must have known these old roads well. In December, 1799, he and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., decided to see whether Vincennes might be a good place for ambitious young lawyers anxious to hang out their shingles. Accompanied by Mr. Morrison, a New Englander bound for Kaskaskia, they started down the Ohio from Cincinnati and reached the Falls in four days. Here they disembarked, mounted their horses, and started for Vincennes. The following account of their journey is from Burnet's *Notes on the North-Western Territory*.¹¹

"About nine o'clock in the evening they discovered, at a little distance from the path they were traveling, a camp of four or five Indians, which they approached. After having shaken hands with them, they procured a brand of fire, and proceeded some distance further on their way, and then halted for the night. Having brushed away the snow from the spot they had selected for their camp, and collected a good supply of wood for the night, they kindled a fire, took some refreshment, wrapped themselves in their blankets, and laid down to sleep.

"The next night they encamped in a rich valley, where they found an abundance of fallen timber, which enabled

¹¹ Burnet, Jacob, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory* (Cincinnati, 1847), pp. 72-74.

them to keep up a large fire through the night, before which they slept very comfortably till morning. During the night, a couple of panthers, attracted by the light of the fire, approached sufficiently near the camp, to serenade them with their unwelcome music—but kept at a respectful distance. The next day, they encountered a severe snow-storm, during which they surprised eight or ten buffalo, sheltering themselves from the storm, behind the top of a beech tree, full of dead leaves, which had fallen by the side of the 'trace,' and hid the travelers from their view. The tree and the noise of the wind among its leaves, prevented them from discovering the party, till they had approached within two rods of the place where they stood. They then took to their heels, and were soon out of sight. One of the company drew a pistol and fired, but without any visible effect.

"That evening they reached White river, where they found an old cabin deserted by its builder, in which a large wild cat had taken shelter, and seemed disposed, at first, to vindicate his right of possession. He was, however, soon ejected, and the travelers entered and occupied the premises without molestation, during the night, and without attempting to do personal violence or injury to the tenant they had dispossessed. The next morning they arrived at Post Vincennes, where they tarried about a week. In the mean time, Mr. Morrison proceeded westward. As soon as Messrs. S. and B. had closed their business, they set out for home, having abandoned the idea of engaging in the practice of law in that county, from a conviction that the profits of the business would not be an adequate compensation for the fatigue and loss of time to which it would subject them.

"Before they left the Post, Colonel Vigo—a French gentleman, who had been an Indian trader more than forty years, (and had in that time made and lost one or two fortunes;) but was a generous, high minded man, in all circumstances—furnished ample stores for their journey, which he constrained them to accept, including a complete apparatus for striking and kindling fires. No occurrence of importance took place on the first day. The second brought a snow-storm, which continued through the day. About noon they halted to

feed their horses and partake of some refreshment. The snow was brushed from a log by the side of the 'trace,' on which they sat down and dined sumptuously on a frozen chicken, a biscuit, and some old peach brandy, put up for them by their hospitable friend. It was their calculation when they left Vincennes, to encamp that night on Blue river, but being mistaken as to the distance, they did not reach the place till several hours after dark. The weather having then moderated, it commenced raining. . . .

"As this crossing place was the best ford on the river, it had been the common encamping ground of travelers, between the Falls and Vincennes, from the first establishment of the Post, in the year 1735, and as a matter of course, all the fuel that could be conveniently obtained, had been used up. Nothing remained in the vicinity, but the larger class of trees, which travelers, after a tedious day's journey, were not disposed to encounter, though they might have the means of felling them. After rambling through the woods in the snow, which was six or eight inches deep, they succeeded in gathering some dry limbs that had recently fallen, which they carried to the place selected for their camp, and then kindled a cheerful little fire, sufficient to boil a pot of coffee, and thaw a frozen roast chicken; but by the time their supper was finished, their stock of fuel was exhausted, and their fire went out. Thus situated, their prospects for the night were any thing but cheering—the ground covered with snow, the rain falling plentifully, and their fire extinguished.

"Determined, however, to make the best of their situation, they scraped away the snow, and with their coats and blankets wrapped themselves up as comfortably as they could, and laid down for the night. Their saddle-bags served for pillows, and their saddles were so placed as to shelter their heads. In that manner they slept as comfortably as circumstances permitted, till morning. When they rose from their beds they were as wet as they could have been if they had slept in the bed of the river. Having no fire, they made a cold breakfast, tempered it with a little peach-brand, then saddled their horses and started for Louisville, where they arrived about dark, on Christmas evening."

MAIL ROUTE

ABOUT the time Burnet and St. Clair visited Vincennes the old trail was taking on a new significance. The settlers from Kentucky and the East longed for contacts with the places and people they had left behind. The growing communities, organized under the Federal Government and enjoying an era of peaceful prosperity, gained a self-importance which demanded services generally accorded such settlements.

On February 11, 1797, William St. Clair and others from Kaskaskia sent a memorial to the Post Office Department asking that a post road be established from Louisville by Vincennes to Kaskaskia. It was almost a year before they received a reply from Assistant Postmaster General Charles Burrall. Despite the delay, it was encouraging. While he did not mention the establishment of a post road, Burrall stated that he had determined to send the mail, by private contract, over this route once every two weeks, and asked that a suitable person in Kaskaskia be nominated to act as postmaster at that place.¹

Burrall wrote also to Worden Pope, postmaster at Louisville, asking him to execute a contract for carrying the mail to Vincennes and Kaskaskia. He then took up the matter of payment with a cautious eye on the Department's limited budget. "The distance I am informed," he wrote to Pope, "is two hundred and sixty miles, being 100 from Louisville to Vincennes and 160 from Vincennes to Kaskaskias. The average price in carrying Mails once in two weeks, thro' the United States is at the rate of two dollars and a half a mile by the year counting the distance one way. at that rate a compensation for carrying the Mail from Louisville to Kaskaskia would be six hundred & fifty Dollars for a year, and I should suppose it might well be done for that sum, as the carier would not have many tavern bills to pay on the route, if

¹ Charles Burrall to William St. Clair and others, December 14, 1797, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 633.

however the contract cannot be obtained for that sum I wish you to contract on the best terms you can provided you do not exceed the rate of seven hundred & eighty dollars a year. I should not chuse to go higher than this last sum. I am informed that the road from Louisville to Vincennes, is tollerable tho not very good, but from Vincennes to Kaskaskias the path is very good, and the whole route may be performed in six days in summer and in seven days in winter.”²

On May 2, 1798, Burrall sent a note to George Thacher, a member of the House committee on territorial affairs, enclosing petitions relative to establishment of this route as a post road. “The expediency of establishing a post road from Louisville by Vincennes to Kaskaskias,” he said, “will appear so fully from the petitions and the maps of that country that I have no doubt the committee will recommend it, if it shall appear proper to make any new post Roads this session.”³

But in March Joseph Habersham, postmaster general, wrote: “Congress have made no provision for sending a mail by Vincennes and Kaskaskias but on the personal engagements of the citizens of these places to reimburse all expences I shall send it once a month—forming a part of the Union they ought not to be left so much in the dark as to what is passing at the seat of Government.”⁴

Finally, on November 28, 1799, Habersham sent to John Rice Jones at Kaskaskia a bond and contract for carrying the mail between Louisville and Kaskaskia by Vincennes once every four weeks. Jones’s offer to perform this route for \$600 was accepted by the department.⁵ General Washington Johnston was appointed postmaster at Vincennes,⁶ and by March 21, 1800, Habersham could write: “I am glad to find the communication by Post is at length Opened to Kaskaskias. . . . I shall be glad to find that the productiveness

² Charles Burrall to Worden Pope, December 15, 1797, in *ibid.*, II, 633-34.

³ Charles Burrall to George Thacher, May 2, 1798, in *ibid.*, II, 646.

⁴ Postmaster General to James Morrison, March 21, 1799, in *ibid.*, III, 20.

⁵ Postmaster General to John Rice Jones, November 28, 1799, and to John Edgar, November 29, 1799, in *ibid.*, III, 70-71.

⁶ Johnston gave bond as postmaster in February, 1798. Postmaster General to Johnston, December 1, 1802, in *ibid.*, VII, 81.

of the Offices of Vincennes and Kaskaskias will allow of more frequent communication by Post than the present arrangement admits of, as it will give me pleasure to extend the Benefits of this useful Institution to that distant portion of the Union.”⁷

On March 22, 1800, the route between Louisville and Vincennes was established as a post road and the Postmaster General forwarded to John Rice Jones the following schedule for carrying the mail:⁸

“Leave Louisville on Thursday at 3. PM. every four weeks from the 27th Feb.

“Arrive at Vincennes on Monday noon.

“Leave Vincennes—ditto—3 PM.

“Arrive at Kaskaskias next Sunday. 10 AM.

“Returning

“Leaving Kaskaskias on Monday noon every four weeks from the 17 Feb.

“Arrive at Vincennes on Sunday noon

“Leave Vincennes at—3 PM.

“Arrive at Louisville the next Thursday 10. AM.”

The following year the route was extended to Cahokia.

How well the rider was able to keep his schedule in this early period is not known, but from difficulties he encountered a few years later, it seems probable that often he came late, if he came at all. But the mail route was launched, and this fact must have given a good deal of satisfaction to the communities it was to accommodate.

⁷ Postmaster General to General Washington Johnston, March 21, 1800, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, III, 78-79.

⁸ Postmaster General to John Rice Jones, March 22, 1800, in *ibid.*, III, 79-80.

HARRISON AND THE TRACE

IN 1800 Indiana Territory was established with Vincennes as its capital. Vincennes and the surrounding region contained 2,497 souls, and Clark's Grant, 929. William Henry Harrison, appointed governor of Indiana Territory, did not reach the capital until January, 1801, but John Gibson, the secretary, arrived in July, 1800, and the new government got under way.

All this activity brought increased traffic and new importance to the old trace. One of Harrison's first steps was the division of Knox County and the creation of Clark, and he used the trace, now well known and fairly well defined, in outlining the boundaries of the county: "beginning at the Ohio river at the mouth of Blew River, thence up the said River to the Crossing of the same by the Road leading from Saint Vincennes to Clarks ville, thence by a direct line to the nearest part of White River thence up the said River and that branch thereof which runs toward Fort Recovery, and from the head springs of said branch to Fort Recovery, thence along the boundary line Between the Indiana, and North Western Territory, to the Ohio, thence down the same River to the place of beginning. . . ."¹

It was natural that there would now be demands for improvements in the road and for some travelers' accommodations. In February, 1802, Harrison, discussing a proposed council with the Indians in a letter to the Secretary of War, suggested that their consent be obtained to the establishment of "houses of accommodations" along the road twenty-five or thirty miles apart.² With the same idea in mind, the Vincennes

¹ Woollen, William W., *et al.* (eds.), *Executive Journal of Indiana Territory 1800-1816* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, III, No.3, Indianapolis, 1900), p. 97. Hereafter cited as *Indiana Territory Executive Journal*.

² Esarey, Logan (ed.), *Governors Messages and Letters . . .* (3 volumes. *Indiana Historical Collections*, volumes VII, IX, XII, Indianapolis, 1922, 1924), I, 45.

Convention of December, 1802, sent a memorial to Congress praying "that a law may be enacted granting to such persons as the Governor of the Territory may recommend, Four hundred acres of land to each in such places as the said Governor may designate, not exceeding the distance of Twenty miles from each other, on the road leading from Clark county to Knox county, and from Vincennes in the said County to the Bank of the Ohio opposite to the town of Henderson, in Kentucky; also from Vincennes to Kaskaskia, in Randolph county, and from thence to Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio, who will open good waggon roads and Establish houses of Entertainment thereon for Five Years. . . ."³

In March, 1803, the House committee to which the petition was referred held that it was inexpedient to grant land for such purposes,⁴ but apparently Harrison still hoped that something of the sort might be done. In negotiations with the Indians at Fort Wayne in June, he secured their agreement to a treaty provision granting the United States "the right of locating tracts of land . . . on the main road between Vincennes and Kaskaskias, and one other between Vincennes and Clarksville for the purpose of erecting houses of entertainment for the accommodation of travellers."⁵ But on February 17, 1804, a Congressional committee reiterated the former stand against land grants for such purposes.⁶

Travelers on the trace were still wary of Indian treacheries. Most of the way it passed through lands to which the Indians still held title and from which American settlers and hunters were excluded by treaty agreement. But it was too much to expect the land-hungry Americans to keep their settlements within the bounds of Clark's Grant and the Vincennes Tract. Also, hunters from these areas and from Kentucky invaded the Indian hunting grounds between the Falls and the Wabash. In one of his first communications as Governor

³ Dunn, Jacob P. (ed.), *Slavery Petitions and Papers* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, No. 12, Indianapolis, 1894), p. 464.

⁴ Quoted in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 75.

⁵ Kappler, Charles J. (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1904), II, 65.

⁶ Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 93.

of the Territory to the Secretary of War, Harrison reported that this practice had grown "into monstrous abuse," that thousands of animals had been destroyed by the Americans, and that the Indians were complaining to him "that many parts of their Country which abounded with game when the general peace was made in 1795 now scarcely contains a sufficiency to give food to the few Indians who pass through there."⁷

In trying to work out a solution to the Indian problem and also to satisfy the increasing clamor for land, the Federal Government inevitably ran into conflicts. On the one hand it aimed at peaceful and friendly relations with the Indians and on the other it strove to win cessions of more and more of their land. Acquisition of land served a two-fold purpose—it could be surveyed and sold in an orderly way to the eager settlers, and its sale supplied a source of much-needed revenue for the young Federal Government.

Harrison's policy reflected that of the Federal Government. His real compassion for the Indians and his desire to get land for American settlers determined his course. He labored to check the sale of intoxicating liquor to the savages, to win just treatment for them before the law, and to improve the system of Indian trade. On the other hand, by treaties made during his twelve years as governor, all of southern Indiana and much of the Illinois country were ceded by the Indians to the United States.

In the treaty concluded at Fort Wayne in 1803 the boundaries of the Vincennes Tract relinquished by the Indians at Greenville in 1795 were defined.⁸ Harrison next directed his attention to winning cessions from the Indians which would

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 27.

⁸ The bounds of the tract as given by the treaty were as follows: "Beginning at Point Coupee on the Wabash, and running thence by a line north seventy-eight degrees, west twelve miles, thence by a line parallel to the general course of the Wabash, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White river, thence by the last mentioned line across the Wabash and towards the Ohio, seventy-two miles, thence by a line north twelve degrees west, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line to the place of beginning." Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 64.

permit travelers to go to and from the territorial capital without having to pass through Indian territory. The old trace figured large in this effort.

In August, 1804, treaties were concluded with the Delaware and Piankashaw by which the tribes ceded all claim to a three-hundred mile tract of the land lying between the Wabash and Ohio rivers and below the Vincennes Tract and the old road leading from Vincennes to the Falls of the Ohio. The treaty stipulated that the northern boundary, instead of following the winding course of the trace, should be a straight line drawn parallel to its general course, the line not to pass more than a half mile north of its most northerly bend. This put the road entirely through United States land.⁹

This treaty was greeted with great enthusiasm. The Vincennes *Indiana Gazette*¹⁰ declared that the acquirement of this tract by the United States was of "immense value," and that it would "facilitate the establishment of extensive settlements on White river, the Wabash and the Mississippi." It described it as "first rate land, plentifully watered, and abundantly supplied with good timber."

Jared Mansfield, who had come out to supervise the surveying of the Vincennes Tract, was anxious to begin work on this new area. From Vincennes he wrote to Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin, that "in the Opinion of every one [it is] a most excellent, & valuable tract. . . .

"The lands in this part of the country appear to me to be superior in general, to those of the State of Ohio; & in time must yield a great revenue to the U. States. . . . The tract lying on the road from here to Clark's Grant, is excellent farming land generally. If a good road could be opened, it would invite immigration, & raise the value of these lands, as well as those of the interior in its vicinity."¹¹

Mansfield was ordered to start the survey immediately. The first step in the undertaking was the running of the

⁹ Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 70, 72.

¹⁰ Vincennes *Indiana Gazette*, August 21, 1804, p. 2, c.4.

¹¹ Jared Mansfield to the Secretary of the Treasury, October 26, 1804, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 233.

northern boundary line,¹² and as a preliminary to this the old Indian road had to be surveyed from the edge of Clark's Grant to the edge of the Vincennes Tract. Thus we have an actual record of this much of the old trace.

¹² Secretary of the Treasury to Jared Mansfield, March 13, and May 24, 1805, in *ibid.*, VII, 268, 290.

SURVEYORS' RECORDS OF THE TRACE

THE TASK of surveying the trace and running the Indian boundary line was assigned to deputy surveyor William Rector.¹ Surveying tours in the western country were marked with hardships and all sorts of difficulties. Hands were hard to get and keep. Rector, like every other Federal officer in the West, was hard pressed for currency with which to pay his men. Fever and ague took a toll of his crew. Water was often scarce and like food and other supplies had to be packed on horseback.²

According to his field notes Rector began the survey of the "Old Vincennes Trace Leading from the Ohio River in Clark's Grant, to Vincennes on the Wabash," on July 11, 1805: "Went to a poplar & two beeches on the bank of the Ohio river S. W. Corner to Clarks grant, & traced a line thereof N.40° W. 320 poles to two Elms & a Beech on the bank of falling Run, then measured another line thereof N 2° E 184 poles, where struck the Vincennes trace in Parker's old improvements, thence with the meanders of said trace from line of Clarks Grant."³

Before starting out Rector had secured the help of George Rogers Clark in determining the exact point at which the old road crossed the western boundary of Clark's Grant. This

¹ Besides his surveying in Indiana Rector served as surveyor of the public lands in Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. He was a member of Missouri's Constitutional Convention in 1820. He died in Illinois, June 6, 1826. Philbrick, Francis S. (ed.), *The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809* (Springfield, 1930), p. cclxxv, reprinted with supplementary Indiana material by the Indiana Historical Bureau in 1931.

² Rector to Jared Mansfield, July 29, 1805. The National Archives, Department of the Interior, General Land Office, Surveyor General, Northwest Territory, Letters Received. Photostat in Indiana Historical Society Library.

³ A copy of Rector's notes of the survey of the old trace are printed *post.* pp. 262-69, from "Clark Land Grant Miscellaneous Record No. 1. Land Depart. State of Indiana," State Auditor's Office, State House, Indianapolis, pp. 37-46.

point proved to be about two and a half miles from Clarksville.⁴ Rector then began his survey and reached the Freeman Line marking the eastern boundary of the Vincennes Tract in present-day Orange County, on July 16, having recorded a distance of 43 miles and 28 chains from his starting point.⁵

In his survey he recorded 222 calls, that is, he took the courses and made the measurements of 222 units of the trace. This great number of calls for the distance surveyed indicates that the course was a winding one. Rector's shortest call was one chain (66 feet), where he blazed "A Hickory 12 in dia" with the words "to C[lark's]. G[rant]. 17 M." The longest straight course he recorded was N 83° W, for almost two and a half miles. In this course he first blazed the hickory noted above, then another hickory fourteen inches in diameter, which he marked "To C. G. 18 M," and a white oak twenty inches in diameter, labeled "To C. G. 19 M."

He noted all the streams which he crossed, their width, and often the direction in which they flowed. He mentioned by name the east, middle, and west forks of Buck Creek, Big Blue River, Sullivan's Spring,⁶ and Little Blue River. Nine miles from his starting point, at a branch three links wide, he

⁴ William Rector to Jared Mansfield, July 29, 1805, *op. cit.*

⁵ Rector and the men who made the rectangular surveys used as a measure Gunther's chain or land surveyor's chain, which is 66 feet long and contains one hundred links of 7.92 inches each.

⁶ Supposed to have been named for a Daniel Sullivan who was murdered by the Indians at this spot. One account relates that about 1810 a Daniel Sullivan (b. 1775), a spy and scout for Harrison, was murdered on the trace on his way to the Falls from Vincennes. This was at a point about thirty miles from the Falls. Cranmer, Gibson Lamb (ed. and comp.), *History of Wheeling City and Ohio County, West Virginia* . . . (Chicago, 1902), pp. 129-34. Since Rector refers to Sullivan's Spring in 1805, this event must have occurred earlier than this story says. There was a Daniel Sullivan, much hated by the French and Indians, who was living at Sullivan's Station near Vincennes in 1786. Perhaps it was he who was murdered. Helderman states that this Daniel Sullivan later became sheriff of Knox County, but this may have been a son or another Daniel Sullivan. Heirs of a Daniel Sullivan of Knox County who died prior to 1797 are mentioned in *American State Papers. Public Lands* (8 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1832-1861), I, 89. See also Helderman, "Filson's Narrative of His Defeat on the Wabash," in *Filson Club History Quarterly*, XII, 195n, and "The

noted "a cabbin near the springs." At Little Blue River a gentleman by the name of Samuel E. Hay or Hays had taken up residence.

Having completed this tour Rector returned briefly to Louisville and then repaired to Vincennes toward the end of August. Upon consulting Harrison about running the boundary line above the trace, he learned that such a line had already been rendered obsolete by the Treaty of Grouseland, concluded on August 21. By this treaty the tribes ceded to the United States a tract of land lying north of the tract ceded by the Treaty of Vincennes. In the light of this circumstance Harrison told Rector that "it was not material" in what manner the line was run, but "to run it parrallel to the general course of the trace in such a manner as to pass any distance not more than half a mile North of the most Northerly bend of the trace."⁷

Rector then made his way to the point at which the trace intersected the east line of the Vincennes tract, ran a line north on the line 118 chains, then ran a straight line S 73° 30' E to the edge of Clark's Grant, a distance of 40 miles 42 chains, showing a difference of 2 miles 76 chains from the distance recorded in his survey of the trace. "When I got to the line of Clarks Grant," he wrote to Mansfield, ". . . I found I was nearly about the same distance North of the trace as the place where I commenced the Indian boundary so that. my work. in meandering the trace and running this line agrees pretty well."⁸

It would be a difficult if not an impossible task to locate the exact course of the old trace from Rector's field notes today. Also, his notes cover only that part of it which ran from Clark's Grant into present Orange County. However, in a short time a record was made from which its course can be plotted all the way from Clark's Grant to the White River.

Northwest Expedition of George Rogers Clark, 1786-1787," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, 324; Alvord (ed.), *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790*, pp. 505, 506, 508. There was also a Daniel Sullivan who worked on the Congressional surveys in southern Indiana.

⁷ Rector to Mansfield, August 29, 1805, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 304-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*

This record is found in the field notes kept by the men who surveyed the Vincennes Tract and the area ceded by the treaties of 1804. Surveyors were ordered to record in their notes "all mines, salt springs, salt licks and mill seats . . . and all water courses mountains and other remarkable and permanent things," through which and near which their lines passed, "and also the quality of the lands." These field notes were then reduced by expert cartographers to maps of the townships surveyed. Copies of these field notes and of the maps are on file in the State Auditor's Office, State House, Indianapolis.⁹

Fortunately for us, the surveyors seemed to have included among the "remarkable" things that they were to record, the points at which their lines crossed the old trace from the Falls, and an examination of their notes furnishes a record of its course from Clark's Grant to the crossing of White River. No such record of its course through present-day Knox County is available since the survey records of the private land claims going back to the British and French periods in Knox and Pike counties do not mention the trace.

Surveyors for this area included James Sisson, Jacob Fowler, Harvey Heth, William Harris, Silas Bent, Jr., Edward W. Tupper, Augustus Stone, Ebenezer Buckingham, Jr., Levi Barber, Nahum Bent, David Sanford, Robert Stubbs, Stephen Benton, Daniel Sullivan, and Robert Buntin. In their notes they refer to the trace generally as the "Vincennes Trace," sometimes as "Louisville Trace," "Kentucky Road," "Trail Leading from Vincennes to falls of Ohio," "Indian trail," "Trail from Louisville to Vincennes," or merely a "Road." They recorded the point at which their lines intersected the trace as so many chains from a certain corner. A record of the course of the trace as given in their notes and a series of maps based on these data are presented hereafter.¹⁰

An old land office map (1808?) of Vincennes and the land lying between the Wabash and White River, shows a road

⁹ Maps showing the trace are in "Records. Surveys. U. S. Lands," V, 27, 34, 110, 116, 122, 128, 134, 136, 138, 140, 143, 146, 149, 153, 157, 181.

¹⁰ *Post*, pp. 249-61.

from White River to Vincennes which is doubtless the old trace. It follows a northwestward course across the "River du Shies" and through the Vincennes Common. This gives a record of it in Knox County.¹¹

A map of the eastern part of the Vincennes Land District made before the Jeffersonville office was established in 1807, including present-day Floyd, Harrison, and Crawford, and eastern Orange counties, shows the old trace. Section lines are marked on the map and a check between the course of the part of the trace shown here with the record left by the surveyors reveals only slight divergencies.¹²

When the surveys were made, the course of the trace out of Knox County was a little south of that followed by Clark in 1786 and Harmar in 1787.¹³ Both passed by French Lick which lies north of the trace as recorded in the surveyors' notes. Also, Harmar passed so far north that he was obliged to cross both forks of White River. That some improvement was made in the years following their expeditions—by altering and shortening the course, by marking it, and by cutting and clearing out its bed—is indicated by the shorter time in which the journey could be made. It had taken Filson nine days to go from Vincennes to the Falls in 1785, and the following year he had to spend seven days on the way. In 1786 Clark's army consumed seven days in marching to Vincennes and the following year the same length of time was taken by Harmar's party returning from the post. Heckewelder and the Indian chiefs made their trip in six days on horseback, but the last day they pressed forward under "forced march," and, in fact, did not reach Clarksville until early morning of the

¹¹ Photostat in Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

¹² In Indiana Historical Society Library.

¹³ Elihu Barker's *Map of the State of Kentucky from Actual Survey* [1794], shows two roads from Clarksville to Vincennes. The northern route, labeled "Common Road to the Rapids," passed by a "Very Fine Salt Spring" (French Lick); it crossed the White River at the forks, Blue River, and Indian Creek. The southern route crossed the White River below the forks and Patoka River, then swung south and crossed Blue River, Beech Creek, and Indian Creek, and on to the Falls. It also shows a trace running north from the mouth of the Wabash, and another from Red Bank to Vincennes.

seventh day. André Michaux reached Vincennes in four days, Volney and Austin in three, all three traveling on horseback. St. Clair and Burnet spent three days on their way to Vincennes, and the same amount of time on their return journey to Louisville.¹⁴

In relation to present-day locations, by the surveyors' field notes the trace ran as follows: out of Clark's Grant, westward about one-quarter mile south of Mooresville or Floyd's Knobs, about one-half mile south of Galena, and three-quarters of a mile south of Greenville, below Bradford, near Crystal Barren, and through the village of Hancock. It then crossed Big Blue River at the site of the old rangers' camp, passed through the northeast corner of Crawford County, and entered Orange County about one-half mile south of the corner common to Orange, Crawford, and Washington counties. It then ran about one-half mile north of Valeene and Unionville and entered Dubois County south of Norton at a point one mile and forty-two chains north of the Base Line. It passed through the site of the rangers' camp at Cuzco, ran about one-half mile south of Crystal, then followed the present State Road 56 to Haysville, then into Pike County about one-half mile north of Otwell, passed the villages of Algiers and Alford, through Petersburg, northwest up to White River, and on to Vincennes.

¹⁴ Shorter paths or new paths were probably adopted or cut out of the forests from time to time. Harrison, who passed along this trace on his way to his land in Harrison County, ordered some alterations on it. Thereafter, it is said to have been referred to as the Governor's Trace. *History of Pike and Dubois Counties Indiana* (Chicago: Goodspeed Bros. & Co., 1885), p. 477; Esarey, Logan, *The Indiana Home* (R. E. Banta, Crawfordsville, Ind., 1943), pp. 15-16.

THE TRACE AND THE VINCENNES *WESTERN SUN*

DESPITE the role the trace was playing in Indiana Territory and the improvements made on it, in 1804 it was still nothing more than a crude path about two feet wide. Edward Hempstead, a young attorney who came out to Vincennes that year, reported to Jared Mansfield that "the journey from Louisville here would be somewhat disagreeable to a Female—, Perhaps you Sir might not think so, but I am positive, that Mrs. Mansfield could not easily reconcile herself to the inconveniences of it—You are obliged to furnish yourself at Louisville with provisions for yourself and forage for your horses, as there is no place at which they can be obtained on the road.

"The journey is commonly performed in three days, at night you are obliged to lodge on the ground—and the whole way is nothing but a wilderness, with no road but a good foot path—"¹

Shortly before Hempstead's arrival, the little town on the Wabash, the official seat of the government of a vast territory and connected with the eastern states by a "regular" post route, attracted the attention of a young newspaper man in Lexington, Kentucky. Elihu Stout had worked on the *Kentucky Gazette* and was anxious to try his hand at editing his own newspaper. He came to Vincennes in 1803, and with the help of Harrison managed to bring a printing outfit to Vincennes the next year by way of the Ohio and Wabash rivers. Securing paper on which to print the news proved to be a great problem. The first paper mill in the western country was at Georgetown, in Scott County, Kentucky, and Stout had to transport the supply for his weekly issue by pack horse over the old trace from the Falls.

The date of the first issue of the paper under the title *Indiana Gazette* is not definitely known since no copy has

¹ Edward Hempstead to Jared Mansfield, July 30, 1804, in *Bulletin of the Chicago Historical Society*, II, No. 1 (March, 1936), p. 26.

survived. The second number appeared on August 7, 1804, and the paper continued weekly until April, 1806, when the printing plant was destroyed by fire. An interval of over a year elapsed; then on July 4, 1807, the first issue of the Vincennes *Western Sun* appeared. Elihu Stout had refused to be defeated. After the fire he had returned to Kentucky and acquired a new press and fresh supplies of paper. This time he transported all equipment by pack horse over the old trace. Arrived at Vincennes he set up shop and started publication under the new name. But for many years after the newspaper was launched, the editor was often forced to cut down the size of the sheet and to apologize to his customers for the failure of his fresh supply of paper to arrive.²

Mr. Stout's weekly issue was closely linked with the arrival of the post rider, for it was devoted almost entirely to news from the East and from abroad. If the mail failed to come, it meant scrabbling through the already exhausted, stale mail of weeks before in order to fill up the four pages. In 1800, as we have seen, Vincennes was scheduled to receive a mail once every four weeks. The next year Postmaster General Habersham contracted for a weekly mail between Louisville and Vincennes at the rate of \$600 a year. Charles Floyd was the contractor. The route between Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia was to be made every fortnight.³ In considering the Louisville-Vincennes route, Habersham observed to the postmaster at Louisville that "the distance . . . is one hundred & ten miles the average rate of a weekly mail on horseback is five dollars reckoning the distance one way of course the average compensation would be five hundred & fifty dollars a year for that route.—as there may be some inconvenience & extraordinary expence in travelling through a country quite unsettled and without accommodations I have fixed the compensation at a sum beyond what is usually allowed for a weekly mail through the United States. . . ."⁴

² Denehie, Elizabeth M., "Indiana's First Newspaper," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXI (1935), 125-30.

³ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 30, 32, 33, 34.

⁴ Postmaster General to Thomas M. Winn, September 25, 1801, in *Ibid.*, VII, 33. In 1805 and 1807 contracts were made with John Springer and

Despite the official increase in the number of mails, the route did not fare well. The opening line of Harrison's letter to the Secretary of War of July 7, 1802, read: "The mail which will carry this letter is the first from this place, since the month of March last. . . ."⁵

In December, 1802, the following schedule had been sent to William Prince, then postmaster at Vincennes: "Leave Vincennes every Friday at 2 pm Arrive at Louisville on Monday at 4 pm Leave Louisville returning every Tuesday 8 AM Arrive at Vincennes on Friday . . . 10 am."⁶

This was the schedule in force when Mr. Stout began his journalistic enterprise. On paper it all looked very well ordered, but there order ended. The Vincennes mail depended on the arrival of the post from the East by Pittsburgh and the Ohio or by Lexington, Kentucky. Weather conditions—blizzards, rain, floods—brought delays and played havoc with the neat little schedule. Other matters interfered as the following crisp note from the Postmaster General to Prince indicates: "Yours of the 5th is before me.—I stated your complaints to the contractor and requested him to be diligent & punctual. In return he complains you detain the rider contrary to right which to prevent I have enclosed a copy of his present schedule."⁷

"We have had no mail for the last two weeks," apologized the harrassed editor of the Vincennes *Western Sun* to his subscribers on January 27, 1808, "for which we shall not pretend to assign the cause—we have consequently nothing new on the subject of peace or war."⁸ Complaints reached headquarters and the Postmaster General dispatched another note to the Vincennes postmaster which gives a pretty good idea of the trouble this time: "The rider from your office to Louisville faild to arrive at Louisville Jan. 16th—Jan 23^d—and Jan. 30th [1808], the regular days fix,d for him to arrive—but

Thomas T. Davis, respectively, for carrying the mail between Louisville and Vincennes for \$550. *Ibid.*, VII, 299, 483.

⁵ Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 49.

⁶ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 80.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, 84.

⁸ Vincennes *Western Sun*, January 27, 1808, p. 1, c. 3.

he arrivd Within that period once. viz on the 25th it is alleged that his excessive drinking is in part the cause—If on enquiry you find the allegation well founded I will thank you to cause him to be immediately dismissd.”⁹

The post rider's job was not an easy one—setting out for Louisville on Friday, arriving on Monday, and leaving for Vincennes the next day. Considering what the ride over the old trace must have been like in the middle of the winter, it is not hard to understand his temptation to fortify himself with too many stiff drinks.

Spring brought heavy rains and swollen streams to check the rider's course. In June, 1808, the *Western Sun* carried the story of the drowning of William Loury who carried the mail between Vincennes and Cahokia. His body was found in the Little Wabash; his mail bag, “not materially injured,” was discovered a short distance below his body.¹⁰ The riders on this route seemed to be ill-fated. Two years after this, a rider was murdered between Vincennes and Kaskaskia, his body “staked down in the bottom of a creek,” and his mail bag stolen. The Post Office Department offered a five-hundred-dollar reward for the murderer and asked that “every exertion be made that we may furnish an awful example to prevent future atrocity.”¹¹

The next month Elihu Stout lost patience: “From the negligence of the post rider we have received no mail from the Eastward this week—we say *negligence*; because he pretends, (and surely it is nothing more than pretence) that he could not cross the White river, altho' report says that some one concerned in the ferry gave him a certificate that the attempt would be hazardous;—and yet the river has been constantly crossed and recrossed without danger; and several gentlemen left this place and proceeded to Louisville within a few hours of the return of the post-rider.”¹²

The Postmaster General, agreeing with Stout, decried the “shameful dereliction of duty,” fined the rider for

⁹ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 535.

¹⁰ Vincennes *Western Sun*, June 1, 1808, p. 3. c. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1810, p. 3. c. 3; Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VIII, 35.

¹² Vincennes *Western Sun*, December 31, 1808, p. 3, c. 3.

neglect, and ordered his immediate dismissal if such an incident occurred again.¹³

In January the editor cleverly combined his apology to his customers with a plea to delinquent subscribers¹⁴—"Another week and no mail, and the poor printer is quite at his wits end—he knows it is difficult to be pleased—and more so to please—some with foreign news, others domestic—a few poetry and others miscellany—and all expect to be gratified—no pains shall be spared to furnish a morsel for each—but in common with others, the printer has his wants—and with his subscribers expects to have his wants gratified, he wants money—he wants to be paid—he well recollects the old adage, and he thinks it cannot be applied to him 'he is a cross dog that bites before he barks' as he has been growling and barking at some of his subscribers for some time—to those who have paid him he returns his most gratified acknowledgments."

Not much improvement seems to have been made in the service despite complaints, threats, and orders from headquarters. "We are left again without a mail," said the *Western Sun* of March 25, 1809, "how long we shall remain so, the post rider can perhaps inform us as he rides, or does not ride, as suits his own convenience. There has not I believe been more than two mails in succession, since the middle of December last, without a failure, and not many more that half a dozen since that time."¹⁵

In May a new schedule was announced. By this the rider left Louisville every Sunday at 6 A. M. and arrived at Vincennes on the next Wednesday by 10 A. M. He left Vincennes the same day at 2 P. M. and arrived at Louisville by 6 P. M. on Saturday.¹⁶ This gave him a longer time to make his tour, but he seems to have had as much trouble keeping to this schedule as he had to the old one. Mr. Stout continued to lament the barrenness of his news due to the failure of the mail to arrive.

¹³ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 641-42.

¹⁴ Vincennes *Western Sun*, January 28, 1809, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁵ See also *Ibid.*, January 21, 1809, p. 3, c. 1; February 4, 1809, p. 3, c. 1; March 18, 1809, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1809, p. 1, c. 3-4.

THE WAR OF 1812

WHILE evidences of the advance of "civilization" westward—organized government, newspapers, mail service—were increasing, Indiana had not solved her chief problem as a frontier region. Indian trouble, somewhat quieted after the Greenville Treaty, began again, and little flare-ups between whites and Indians were too frequent to let anyone believe that the matter was being settled by treaties and councils. The Indians' chief complaint was against encroachment on their lands and the murdering of their people by lawless whites. They retaliated by raiding American settlements. The rise of Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet with their efforts to join the tribes into confederacy gradually brought the whole situation to a head.

In 1807 the Larkins family, father, mother, and five children, were attacked on the trace by a roving band of savages. The father was killed and the rest of the family taken into captivity. This incident hastened efforts to insure more protection to travelers. A band of twenty or more rangers was organized under Captain William Hargrove to patrol the trails in southern Indiana. The men were divided into three divisions, the first to patrol the road between Vincennes and the Falls from the Wabash to French Lick, the second from there to the Ohio, and the third to range the area from the Ohio Falls to the Lawrenceburg neighborhood.¹

Blockhouses were erected at convenient points in the settled areas where families were ordered to repair when bands of Indians approached within a threatening distance. At the "Mud Holes"² on the old trace, near the present site of

¹ Cockrum, William M., *Pioneer History of Indiana* . . . (Oakland City, Ind., 1907), pp. 202 ff.; Wilson, George R., *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VI, No. 3, Indianapolis, 1910), pp. 75-76.

² The "Mud-holes" were excavations "horned" into the rich soil of Boone Township, Dubois County, by the buffalo, and used for wallowing purposes. They covered perhaps more than a thousand acres. An actual

Portersville in Dubois County, Fort McDonald was erected by John and William McDonald, who had settled there as early as 1801. Woolsey Pride, one of the first pioneers of Pike County, had erected a blockhouse on the trace at White Oak Springs (Petersburg) by 1807.³ Rangers camps were located on the trace—one was at the present site of Cuzco in Dubois County and another at the spot where the trace crossed Big Blue River. Additional patrols were assigned to the Yellow Banks Trace which ran north from Rockport on the Ohio to the Forks of White River and to the Red Banks Trace. "Military" roads were cut through the wilderness to connect these main routes.⁴

By November the Indian threats had subsided somewhat and most of the rangers were dismissed.⁵ But this was only a lull. The War of 1812 was coming to the West. Again the old trace saw messengers, soldiers, and Indian warriors pass by. Troops from Kentucky and the eastern Indiana counties, answering Harrison's call for a campaign against the Prophet, marched over it to their points of rendezvous at Vincennes and at Fort Harrison up the Wabash.⁶

Among the soldiers who came out to Vincennes during 1811 and 1812 was Lieutenant Josiah Bacon, a quartermaster of the Fourth Regiment of United States Infantry. Lieutenant

trace could not be distinguished through them and no exact point at which the surveyors' lines crossed the old road in this area is given in the field notes of the surveyors.

³ See Wilson, George R., *History of Dubois County from Its Primitive Days to 1910* (Jasper, Ind., 1910), pp. 30, 38; *History of Pike and Dubois County*, p. 475; Jean, Margaret Story, and Treanor, Aline Jean, "The First Families of White Oak Springs," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXI (1935), 296-97. There was also a blockhouse and military station at French Lick. See Harris, *Remarks Made During A Tour Through the United States*, p. 131.

⁴ Cockrum, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, pp. 204ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29.

⁶ Vincennes *Western Sun*, August 18, 1812, p. 3, c. 1; August 25, p. 3, c. 1; September 22, p. 4, c. 1; September 29, p. 3, c. 1. See also "Some Letters of John Gibson," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, I (1905), 128-31. Harrison passed over the old trace in making his preparations for the coming battles. Cleaves, Freeman, *Old Tippecanoe. William Henry Harrison and His Times* (New York & London, 1939), p. 115.

Bacon was accompanied by his wife Lydia, who kept a journal of their expedition which took them from Boston out to Vincennes, then up to Detroit, and after various adventures back to Massachusetts.⁷

Mrs. Bacon cheerfully faced the hardships of the western trip and wrote to her mother that she "felt a little vexed with those wives . . . who would prefer, staying at home, rather than suffer a little inconvenience, what did they get married for," she demanded. "*Never, no never,*" she declared, "for a single instant have I been sorry that I came with mine. . . ."⁸

The troops which they accompanied marched overland from the Falls to Vincennes, while Lieutenant Bacon and his wife came by water. They arrived about the first of October, 1811. During the winter Mrs. Bacon stayed in Vincennes and endured the anxious days of waiting for news of her husband who took part in the Tippecanoe campaign. Lieutenant Bacon returned to Vincennes safely and they remained there until March when he was ordered to Detroit. The route was to be by Louisville and then north through Ohio. Mrs. Bacon's journal gives an account of their overland journey across southern Indiana to Louisville.⁹

On May 14, 1812, the party set out. The Bacons, with the other officers and their wives, were permitted to go on horseback, while the rest marched on foot. Mrs. Bacon's spirits did not droop. The second day out she wrote, "I like travelling on horse back & slept finely on the ground last night, for the first time in my life, with a bear skin for our bedstead & a Buffalo Robe for our Bed." On the 17th she wrote: "It rain'd hard all day, never slept better than last night—we are now ready to start. I wish you could see us, it is really laughable to witness the comical scenes that are acted—I have a large bag on the Pomell of my saddle containing some necessary articles, a Bible, Homers Illiad, & a huge Sponge cake presented by one of our kind Friends the morning of our departure." "19th bright Sun, all going on in good health

⁷ In *Indiana Magazine of History*, XL, 367-86, XLI, 59-79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XL, 385.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XL, 386, XLI, 60-62.

& spirits, but my feelings are somewhat tried seeing the poor Soldiers wives trudging on foot, some of the way mud up to their knees, & a little Child in their arms, only 4 or 5 Waggon allowed to carry the baggage, the poor women of course have to suffer, I should think it would kill them, saw two Houses one of them deserted, afraid of the Indians."

She had no fault to find with the camping equipment and food. "I suppose you will be anxious to know what we have to eat," she wrote, "how we carry conveniences to eat out of, & how we cook—we live very well as to the quality of our victuals & have enough, plenty of elegant *Bacon* (*nothing better*) in this part of the world." She described how chickens were roasted over a fire and declared that meat cooked in this way was "very good indeed." "We have a pack horse who carried a pair of mess Boxes made with separate apartments to hold cups plates & ccc& our tea & sugar in canisters, & our table is the hind board of a waggon set on a portable cricket made like a cot bedstead, our candlestick is a bayonet reversed with the point in the ground, the part which goes on to the gun serves admirably for a socket to put the candle in."

The trip was not without its tragedy. One of the soldiers was suddenly taken ill of cholera and died. "He is buried in the woods," wrote Mrs. Bacon, "in a bark Coffen, the only one, the times would admit of."

The victory over the Indians at Tippecanoe in 1811 was a blow to the Prophet's prestige and subdued the Wabash tribes, but sporadic acts of hostility against the white settlements persisted. The formal declaration of war between Great Britain and the United States in June and its effect on the Indians was foreseen by Harrison. In the general orders issued on April 16, 1812,¹⁰ he laid plans for a system of frontier fortifications. One hundred and fifty men were assigned to range the country between Vincennes and Louisville "so as to completely protect the citizens and the road."¹¹

¹⁰ Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, II, 163.

¹¹ On April 20, 1812, Captain Zachary Taylor paid three dollars to Sally McGowan for transporting two baggage wagons and troops across the east fork of White River. The party was going from Louisville to Vincennes.

September, October, and November were bloody, terrifying months on the Indiana frontier. But the Indian attacks on Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison and the Pigeon Roost massacre were followed up by the relentless destruction of Indian villages in Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio. In the end the War of 1812 was disastrous to the redmen. All their hopes of help from the British were gone and the Americans still angry and distrustful, adopted the policy of driving the Indians out rather than endeavoring to live in peace with them.

See receipt in the Mitten Collection, Indiana Historical Society Library. Sarah McGowan was the wife of William or Thomas McGowan who maintained a ferry over the East Fork of White River near the site of Mt. Pleasant in Martin County. Her husband was murdered there by the Indians a little over a month after Taylor's expedition was there. The route Taylor followed was at this point north of the trace as delineated from the surveyor's notes.

THE DECLINE OF THE TRACE

NOW for the first time southern Indiana was free from fear of Indian raids; now she could turn her full attention to building homes, founding towns, and establishing herself as a state. How quickly the Americans had expelled the redmen was remarked by Thomas Hulme, who traveled north from Princeton in Gibson County to the Mud Holes on the trace in 1817. "This Mud-holes," he wrote,¹ "was a sort of fort, not 4 years ago, for guarding against the Indians, who then committed great depredations, killing whole families often, men, women and children. How changeable are the affairs of this world. I have not met with a single Indian in the whole course of my route."

By the time of Hulme's visit new routes from the Falls to Vincennes had developed. The route outlined in Darby's *Emigrant's Guide*, in 1818, mentioned at the beginning, followed the general course of the trace as outlined in the surveyors' notes, but alternate routes had developed.

In the fall of 1811 an unidentified traveler from Pennsylvania crossed southern Indiana on his way to Illinois. He went through Corydon and crossed both forks of White River. Here is his account: ". . . after tarrying several days in Louisville I crossed the Ohio and having crossed the knobs followed the course of a small stream called Indian Creek to Corendon [Corydon] the seat of Justices for Harrison Cty Indiana Territory. This place is but new and contains only 4 or 5 houses which are very indifferent. 7 miles from this place on Blue R. I was weell intertained at a Mr. Heths where I staid 10 or twelve Days then pursued my rout. 6 Miles from corridon I crossed a very beautifull Stream about as large as little Beaver on which the governor has mills. Blue R. is about 5 miles from this. [It] is a stream as large as Neshanie

¹ Journal of Thomas Hulme in Cobbett, William, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* . . . In Three Parts (3d. ed. London, 1822), p. 281.

which runs into the Ohio about 30 miles below its falls. The country on from this to the East fork of White River is very hilly but well timbered.

"Petoka [is] a small creek 25 miles from corriden. This stream runs North-west and empties into the Wabash about 25 miles below Vincennes. Licking Cr 35 miles from Petoka Cr same as Mad. R. From thence to East fork of White. R. . . . West fork of White. R. heads near Greenville is as large as the East Fork and is a most beautifull stream & on it there is very beautifull land. The confluence of these two Rivers is about 40 miles from the Wabash. The East fork heads near Whitewater Cr in part & part near the ohio R.

"You cross the West fork on a solid rock. You now begin to travel through vast fiealds of natural meadow which the further you ride the further they extend. From the last mentioned stream to Vincennes is 15 miles."²

As settlements sprang up and new towns were laid out, the old road changed its course and new roads were built. One example of such a change was at New Albany, platted in 1813. The original trace from Clarksville passed north of the site of New Albany, but when settlers began moving into this site, a new road was built to accommodate them, and soon the old trail between Clarksville and the "Gut ford" was almost abandoned, travelers going by way of Robinson's tavern, in what is now the northern part of New Albany, then north out of town to join the old trace not far from the Knobs.³

In 1809 Indiana Territory was divided and the Territory of Illinois was established. There was immediate clamor for removal of the capital of Indiana Territory from Vincennes to a more central part of the settled area, and in 1813 Corydon, in Harrison County, south of the old trace, was chosen as the seat of government. Thereafter travel tended to pass through this town.

By 1816, the year Indiana became a state, there was a northern and southern route between the Falls and Vincennes,

²"To Illinois in 1811," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXXVI (1943), 208-9.

³*History of Ohio Falls Cities and Their Counties* (2 volumes. Cleveland: L. A. Williams & Co., 1882), II, 150, 152.

the southern passing through Corydon. Both of the routes availed themselves of parts of the old road. The following letter to the editor of the Vincennes *Western Sun* describes them:⁴

"Mr. Stout,

"*Information to the public and not individual trouble* has induced me to offer a few remarks, which I have recently made from actual experiment, upon the DIFFERENT ROADS from Vincennes to Louisville. And as all TRAVELLERS feel an INTEREST in the subject, you'll oblige ONE by giving his remarks publicity.

"No. 1. Road by the Mud-holes.

"From Vincennes to Aaron Decker's⁵ ferry on White River 15 m.

"Road not *very* good

"From White River to Squire Smith's⁶ 5

"Road generally bad. A tolerable house, but city prices!

"From Smith's to Miley's 2

"Good Dutch⁷ fare.

"From Miley's to the Mud-holes at McDonald's 20

"About half the road bad. Some years ago this was a very good house, but now very much depreciated.

"From McDonald's to the fork of the road.

"A very hilly, ugly and bad road. It here branches—the left hand and much the plainest fork leading to the French Lick, which is 6 miles. The right hand fork going over a very rough country, with little accommodations, to Corydon, a distance of 36

⁴ Vincennes *Western Sun*, August 24, 1816, p. 2, c. 1-2.

⁵ Decker was operating the old ferry on White River above Petersburg, formerly run by Joshua Harbin. See *ante*, p. 212, and Jean, Margaret Story, and Treanor, Aline Jean, "White Oak Springs, 1810-1817," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVI (1940), 236n.

⁶ Probably Hosea Smith, who came to Pike County in 1812 and settled there. He kept the post office at White Oak Springs, later Petersburg, on the old trace. *History of Pike and Dubois Counties*, p. 251.

⁷ The Miley family were Pennsylvania Dutch. Henry Miley entered land near White Oak Springs in Pike County in 1813. Jean and Treanor, "White Oak Springs, 1810-1817," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVI, 231n, 236.

"From Corydon to Louisville by Oatman's ferry 26⁸

"The road is pretty good—intersecting the other one (here called the N. Albany road) to the N. W. of French's on the Knobs, in sight of a cabin, the road branches, the left going to N. Albany and the right to Oatman's ferry. Opposite to which on the Ky. side, is the farm and present dwelling of captain Fontaine, who, I believe, it is truly said, keeps the neatest and best boats &c on the Ohio. The distance from here up to Louisville is 4 miles, over a handsome road well causey'd, which I am inform'd the captain opened, and for which he has my thanks.

"No. 2. Road by Capt Sholts's.⁹

"From Vincennes to Wm. Snyder's 9 m.

"From Snyder's to Wm. Hawkin's¹⁰ ferry 8

"From the ferry to Liverpool¹¹ 4

"The road from Vincennes here is *very* good, except a few miles in the river bottom. Mr. Hilton keeps pretty good accommodations here.

"From Liverpool to the forks of the road 10

"Good road. The left hand passes by Perry's ferry on the E. branch of White river, where the ford is not right convenient; and travellers, as I'm inform'd, refused the most ordinary accommodations. The right hand goes to captain Sholts's, distance 8 miles. Here there's a good ford in low

⁸ Joseph Oatman was granted a license to keep a ferry across the Ohio four miles below Clarksville on July 10, 1807. *Indiana Territory Executive Journal*, p. 141. See also *History of Ohio Falls Cities and Their Counties*, II, 167, 168, 244-45.

⁹ This second route was the one followed by Henry Vest Bingham on his way to his home in Missouri in 1818. He went from New Albany, stopping at Widow Mores and Judge Chambers, going through Paoli and French Lick, and crossing the East Fork of White River at Captain Sholts's. He was three nights on the way. Windell, Marie George (ed.), "The Road West in 1818, The Diary of Henry Vest Bingham," in *Missouri Historical Review*, XL (1945), 46-51.

¹⁰ William Hawkins was granted a license to keep a ferry across the west fork of White River, June 6, 1807. *Indiana Territory Executive Journal*, p. 140.

¹¹ Now Washington, Daviess County.

water—a ferry in high water—and a genteel accommodating family.¹²

“From Sholts’s to Lick Creek 6

“From Lick creek to French Lick 10

“The road for the above 16 miles is not good—far better than the one by the Mud-holes. Here lives a very friendly accommodating man by the name of Williamson, with an industrious family.

“From French Lick to Chambers’s¹³ 14

“The road rather hilly, but taken by and large, or as it’s said the constitution of Indiana should be ‘as a perfect whole,’ is pretty good. Chambers and family are very obliging, and provide well for the traveller.

“From Chamber’s to the Wd. Moores 9

“The above description will here apply; and it’s unnecessary to say any thing about the house, its good character being already so well established.

“From the Wd. Moores to Blue river¹⁴ 6[?]

“Good road. New Town—wants houses.

“From Blue river to capt. Morris’s 15

“Road good. An obliging family and wholesome fare. Another New Town—wants houses.

“The road within half a mile of this stand branches. The left hand being the United States road going by old Daviss’s, from whence it’s 17 miles to Louisville by New Albany or

¹² Frederick Sholts. The following year, 1817, the county commissioners ordered Sholts to keep this ferry over the East Fork of White River and stipulated the following rates for services: loaded wagon and team, \$1.00; stage or two horse wagon, 62½ cents; man and horse, 12½ cents; “footmen” 6¼ cents per head. See Fulkerson, A. O., *History of Daviess County Indiana* (Indianapolis, B. F. Bowen & Co., 1915), p. 96; *History of Knox and Daviess Counties Indiana* (Chicago, The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1886), p. 609.

¹³ Samuel Chambers purchased land in Orange County in 1815 and 1821 and operated a store, saddle and harness shop, and tavern. In 1840 he laid out the town of Chambersburg. *History of Lawrence, Orange, and Washington Counties Indiana* (Chicago: Goodspeed Bros. & Co., 1884), pp. 506-7. Hulme stopped at Chambers’ tavern and described it as good. See his Journal in Cobbett, *A Year’s Residence*, p. 281.

¹⁴ “Widow More’s” is mentioned as a house of entertainment in 1819, by Adlard Welby in “A Visit to North America and the English Settlement in Illinois,” in Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, XII, 233.

Jeffersonville, a particular description whereof is deemed useless, it having been so much travelled. The right hand leads to Oatman's ferry, a distance of 12 or 13 miles, and avoids the steep ascent of the Knobs and the descent has been lately rendered by labour, much easier and more convenient than on the U. S. road.

"From this ferry and captain Fontanie's on the Ky. side, there is an excellent road to Louisville, distance 4 miles.

"The country over which the above two roads pass—the difference in distance (being from 5 to 10 m.)—and the accommodations being considered, I have no hesitation in recommending to my fellow travellers going from here to Louisville or beyond that place, or those coming from there here, to travel road No. 2, that is by Sholts's, in preference to No. 1 by McDonalds.

"A TRAVELLER.

"Vincennes, August, 23, 1816."

"Good" roads or "bad" roads of 1816 would all seem bad today. The buffalo paths, at least, had beds so hard packed that vegetation would never grow very dense or high on them. The new roads opened by early settlers were scarcely more than narrow avenues cut through the woods by felling trees and rolling the logs off to one side to rot. These withered trees or others blown down by storms were sometimes left lying across the way and had to be gotten over at great inconvenience.

The length of time necessary for the trip from the Falls to Vincennes does not seem to have been cut noticeably by the change in the course of the road. In 1816 a party from Castleton, Vermont, came out to Illinois on horseback. The journey from Louisville to Vincennes consumed four days. While the observations recorded by Asahel North, one of the party, do not indicate great acumen, they are entertaining.¹⁵ The travelers were impressed by the "badness" of the roads—a fact which is mentioned constantly throughout the account. All was not lost, however, for they visited Shakertown where they ate watermelons, and then crossed the Wabash into Illinois where they "ate peaches and drank whiskey." They returned

¹⁵ "Asahel North—Biographical Sketch and Diary," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XV (1922-23), 682-83.

to Vincennes and then to the Falls, again spending four days on the way.

In 1819 another traveler spent four days on the road. Richard Lee Mason came out to Illinois to inspect the tract of land near Alton which he had received for his service in the War of 1812. He was severely critical of the stouthearted Indiana pioneers who were turning the wilderness into farms and towns, declaring them "impudent and lazy beyond example," but apparently liked the West well enough to bring his family to St. Louis where he practiced medicine until his death in 1824.

On his 1819 journey Mason crossed the Ohio from Kentucky and passed through New Albany and stayed at Miller's tavern six miles beyond. He followed the northern route to Vincennes, going by Judge Chambers' through Paoli, across the East Fork of White River to Hindostan in Martin County, and then across the West Fork to Vincennes.¹⁶

With the coming of these new roads, the old trace gradually sank into obscurity. In 1820 the General Assembly of Indiana ordered a road to be located from New Albany, thence to Fredericksburg, thence to Paoli in Orange County, thence to Hindostan, on the East Fork of White River, and on to Vincennes. The route lay completely north of the old trace. Parts of it continued to be used and parts of it are still used today, but by 1820 it had ceased to be the main thoroughfare across southern Indiana. Its hard-packed bed has never produced a heavy vegetation and even where it has been completely abandoned as a road, its route—the route of Indiana's first highway—is in many places still apparent.

¹⁶ *Narrative of Richard Lee Mason in the Pioneer West 1819* (Heartman's Historical Series No. 6. New York, n. d.), pp. 33-39.

APPENDIX

RECORD OF THE COURSE OF THE TRACE FROM SURVEYORS' FIELD NOTES

THE following record of the course of the Buffalo Trace is taken from the field notes of the rectangular surveys, 1805-1807, in the State Auditor's Office, State House, Indianapolis.

According to this record the trace crossed the following section lines :

FLOYD COUNTY

between sections 27 and 28, T 2 S, R 6 E, at a point 45.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 21 and 20, T 2 S, R 6 E, at a point 16.93 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 20 and 19, T 2 S, R 6 E, at a point 32.17 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 23 and 14, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 8.00 chains west of the east corner common to these sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 15 and 10, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 57.00 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 10 and 9, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 32.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 9 and 8, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 72.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 5 and 6, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 6.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace; also recorded as crossing the line between sections 6 and 7, T 2 S, R 5 E, at a point 14.50 chains west of the east corner common to these sections;

between ranges 5 and 4 E, T 2 S, 20.00 chains north of the southeast corner of section 1, T 2 S, R 4 E (one mile west of this point the trace enters Harrison County);

HARRISON COUNTY

between sections 2 and 11, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 51.50 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 11 and 10, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 59.39 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 10 and 9, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 66.40 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;¹

between sections 9 and 4, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 24.21 chains, also at 12.50 chains, and also at 3.60 chains east of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 4 and 5, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 1.40 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 5 and 6, T 2 S, R 4 E, at a point 30.53 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between ranges 4 and 3, T 2 S, at a point 41.50 chains north of the southeast corner of section 1, T 2 S, R 3 E;

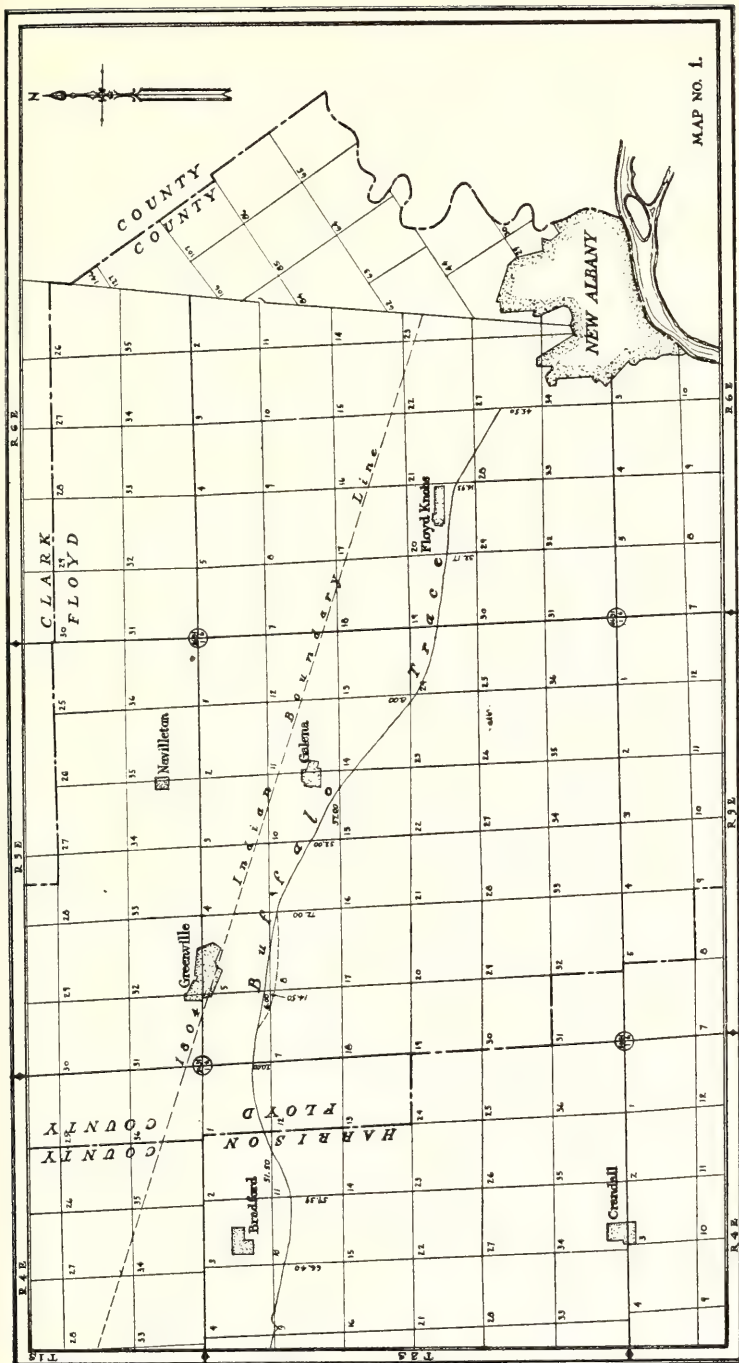
between sections 1 and 2, T 2 S, R 3 E, at a point 50.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace (this is on the line between Morgan and Blue River townships);

between sections 2 and 3, T 2 S, R 3 E, at a point 66.30 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 34 and 33, T 1 S, R 3 E, at a point 17.20 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (this is at the present site of Hancock);

between sections 33 and 32, T 1 S, R 3 E, at a point 24.30 chains north of the south corner common to these sections;

¹ According to the plat book map, at this point the trace crossed from section 10 to 3, from 3 to 4, from 4 to 9, from 9 to 4, back to 9, and from 9 to 8. There is a break, and then the trace is shown crossing from section 5 to 6. "Records. Surveys. U. S. Land," V, 122, State Auditor's Office.



between sections 32 and 31, T 1 S, R 3 E, at a point 4.06 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (from here it crosses Big Blue River and enters Crawford County);

CRAWFORD COUNTY

between sections 36 and 35, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 58.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (this line between sections 35 and 36, at a point 25.00 chains north of the south corner crosses Big Blue River, 1.50 chains wide, course west, and at 70 chains north of the south corner the line crosses the river again, where it was 3.00 chains across);

between sections 35 and 26, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 41 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections (Big Blue River crossed the line 50 chains from the west corner, course S 70° E, and was 3.00 chains across);

between sections 26 and 27, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 31.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 27 and 28, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 74.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between section 28 and 21, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 62.00 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

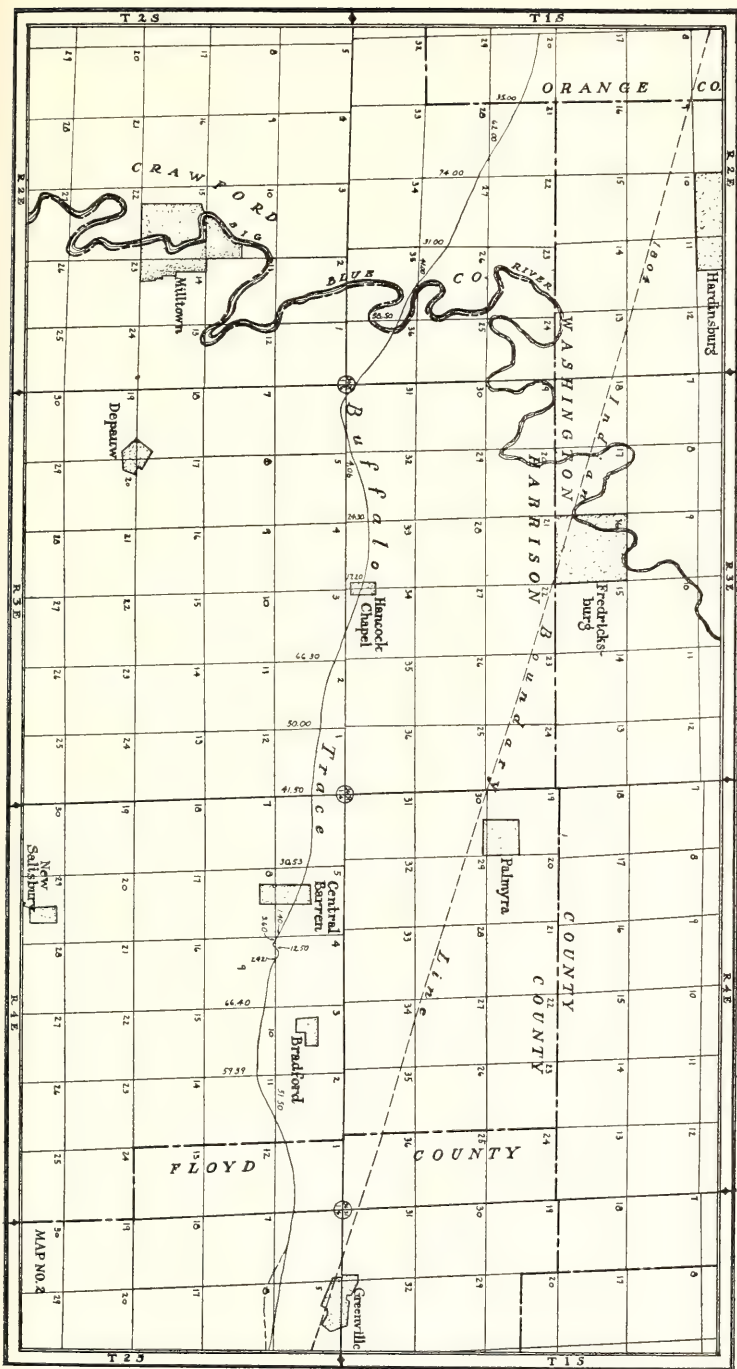
between sections 21 and 20, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 35.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (here the trace enters Orange County);

ORANGE COUNTY

between sections 20 and 19, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 55.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 19 and 18, T 1 S, R 2 E, at a point 58.00 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between ranges 1 and 2 E, T 1 S, at a point 15.00 chains north of the south line of section 13, T 1 S, R 1 E, called Vincennes Trace;



between sections 13 and 14, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 72 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called a "road";

between sections 14 and 11, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 74.00 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called a "road";

between sections 11 and 10, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 14.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called a "road";

between sections 10 and 9, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 65.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called a "road";

between sections 9 and 4, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 53.00 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 4 and 5, T 1 S, R 1 E, at a point 44.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

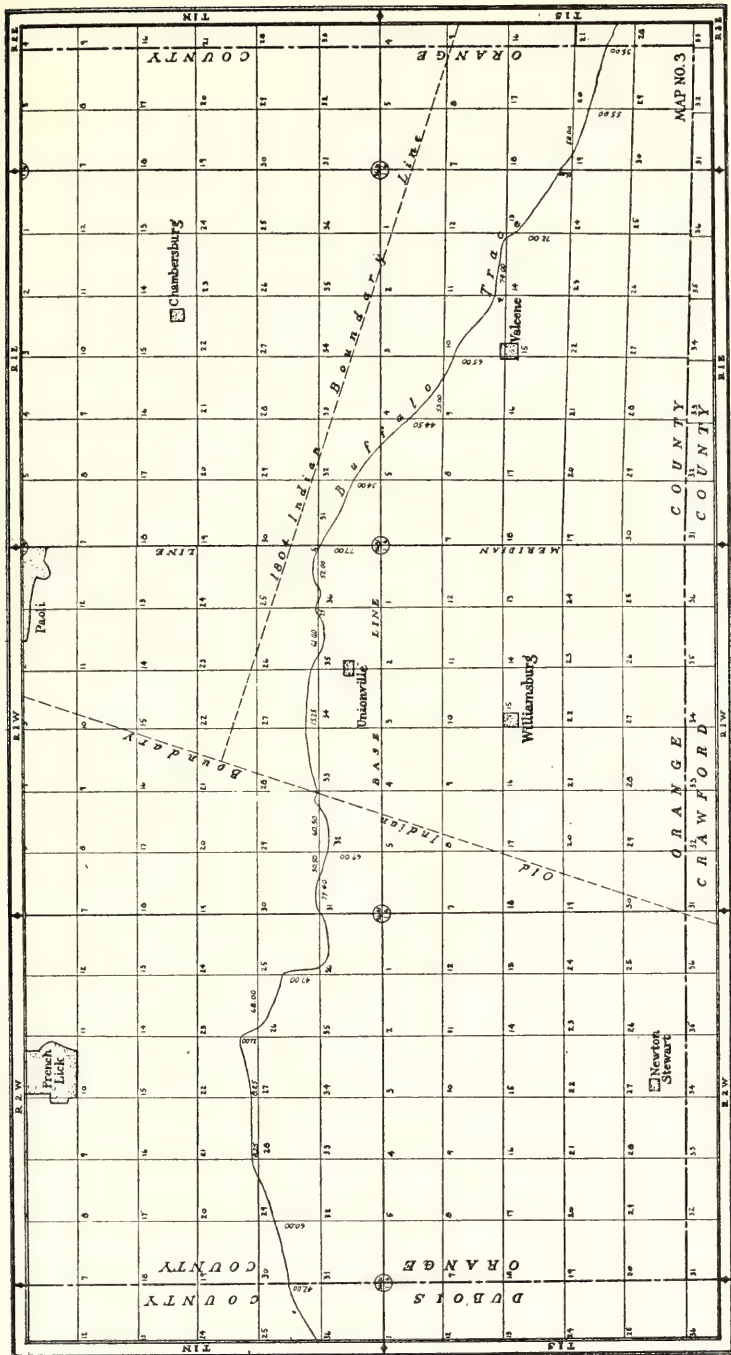
between sections 31 and 32, T 1 N, R 1 E, at a point 34.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between section 31, T 1 N, R 1 E, and section 36, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 77.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (this line is the second principal meridian and the south corner is the initial point, where the meridian line intersects the base);

between sections 25 and 36, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 5.00 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections (course northwest), also at 52 chains west (course southwest);²

between sections 26 and 35, T 1 N, R 1 W, at 7.50 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections (course southwest); also at 61 chains west (course nearly west);

² The course of the trace shown on the map in the plat book differs from that given in the field notes at this point. According to the map the trace crossed from section 25 to 36, and back again to 25, then to 26, back to 35, back to 26, then back to 35, then to 34, and from 34 to 27. "Records. Surveys. U. S. Lands," V, 136.



between sections 27 and 28, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 15.25 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 28 and 29, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 1.00 chain north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 29 and 32, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 60.50 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections;

between sections 32 and 31, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 69.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 31 and 30, T 1 N, R 1 W, at a point 30.50 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections, also at a point 79.40 chains west of the east corner, called Vincennes Trace;³

between sections 25 and 26, T 1 N, R 2 W, at a point 47.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 26 and 23, T 1 N, R 2 W, at a point 68.00 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace (this is the line between Jackson and French Lick townships);

between sections 22 and 23, T 1 N, R 2 W, at a point 21.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

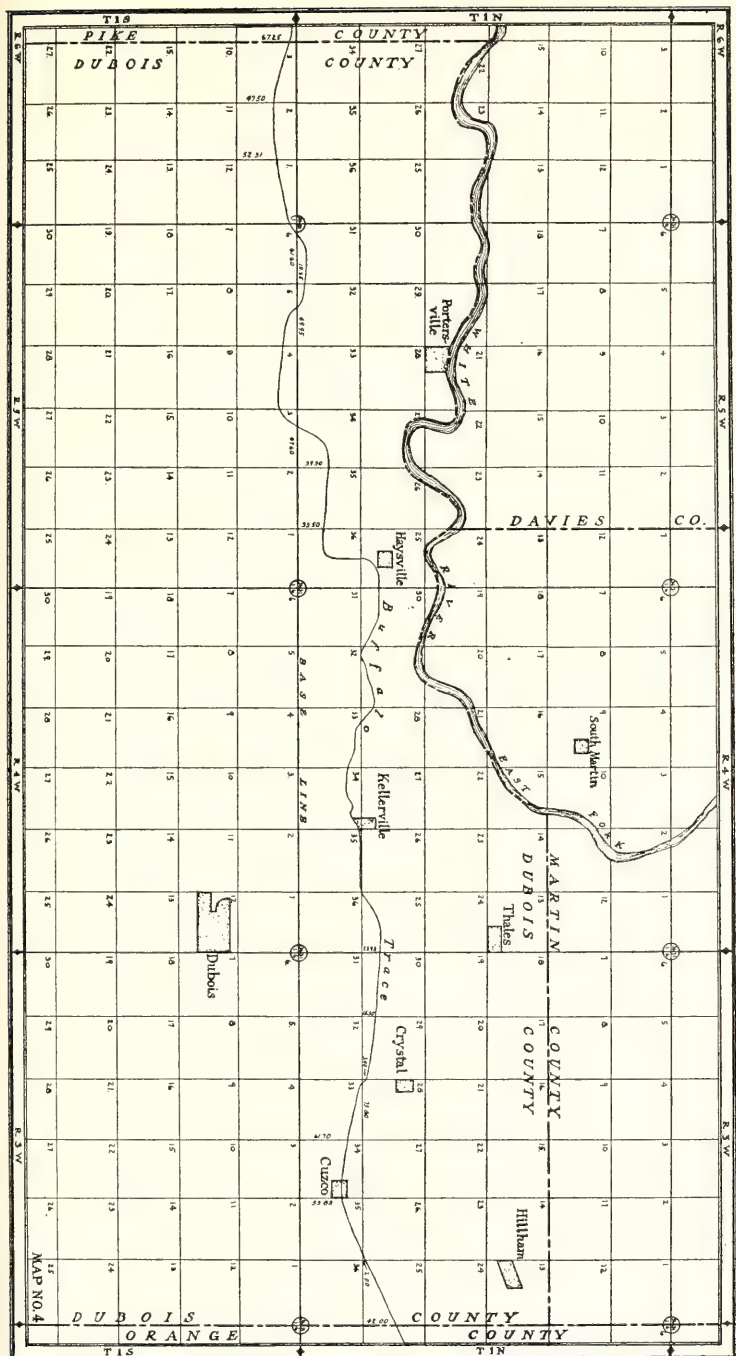
between 22 and 21, T 1 N, R 2 W, at a point 8.25 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;⁴

between sections 29 and 30, T 1 N, R 2 W, at a point 60.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between ranges 2 and 3 west, at a point 42.00 chains north of the southeast corner of section 25, T 1 N, R 3 W, called Road to Vincennes (here the trace enters Dubois County);

³ The map in the plat book shows the trace crossing back from section 30 to 31, from 31 to 36, and from 36 to 26. "Records. Surveys. U. S. Lands," V, 136.

⁴ According to the plat book map, at this point the trace crossed from section 21 to 20, and from 20 to 29. *Ibid.*, V, 138.



DUBOIS COUNTY

between sections 25 and 26, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 2 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 35 and 34, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 53.83 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (this corner is on the base line and at the present site of Cuzco);

between sections 34 and 33, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 61.70 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 33 and 28, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 73.80 chains west of the east corner of these two sections;

between sections 28 and 29, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 3.40 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between sections 29 and 30, T 1 N, R 3 W, at a point 15.30 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;⁵

between ranges 4 and 5 west, T 1 N, at a point 23.93 chains north of the southeast corner of section 25, T 1 N, R 4 W;

between sections 36 and 35, T 1 N, R 5 W, at a point 33.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Louisville Trace (this crossing is about one and a half miles southwest of Haysville);

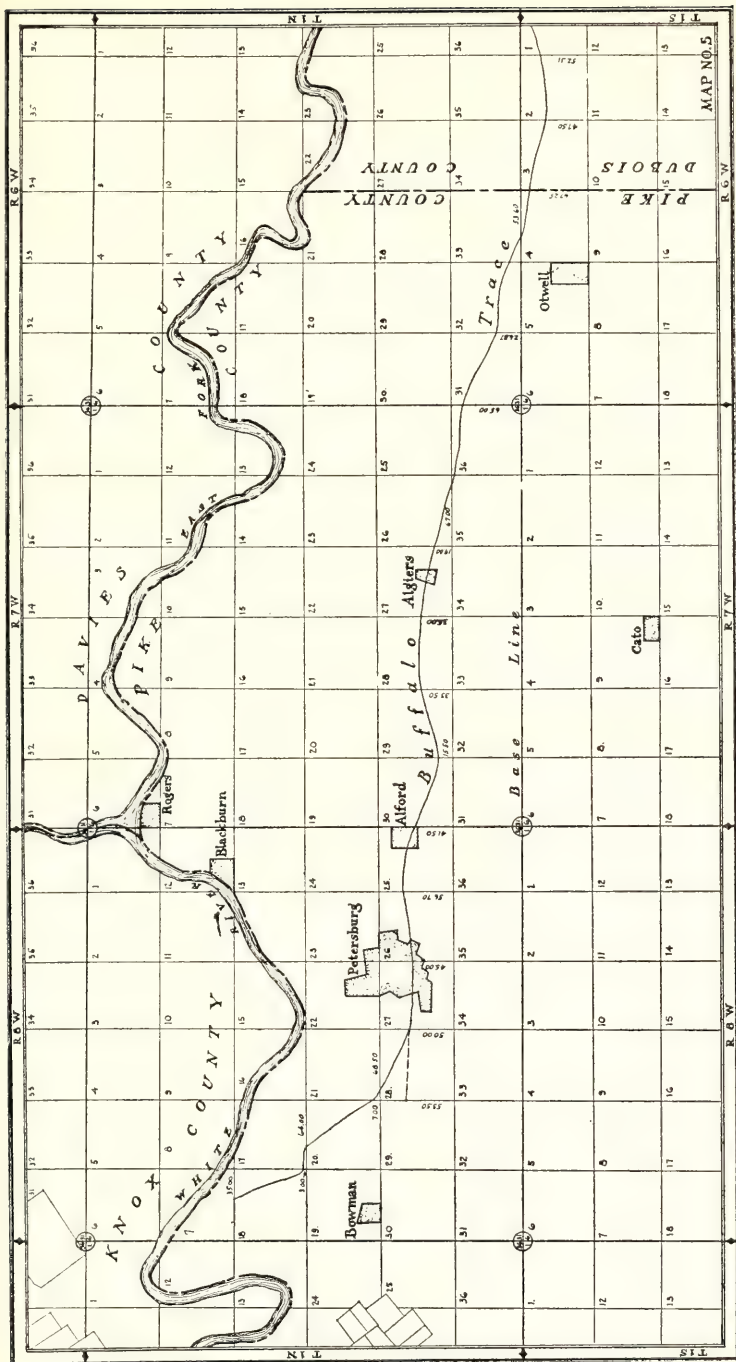
between sections 35 and 34, T 1 N, R 5 W, at a point 39.30 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections (this is the line between Harbison and Boone townships);

across the base line at a point 49.60 chains west of the southeast corner of section 34, T 1 N, R 5 W;

across the base line, at a point 49.95 chains west of the southeast corner of section 32, T 1 N, R 5 W, called the Kentucky Road;

between sections 31 and 32, T 1 N, R 5 W, at a point 10.25 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Louisville Trace;

⁵No mention of the trace is given in the surveyors' notes through Range 4. From evidence left on the earth's surface the course of the trace followed that of present State Road 56 from the last mentioned crossing as far as Hope, then swung southward. The plat book map shows a road crossing the line between section 30, T 1 N, R 3 W, and section 25, T 1 N, R 4 W. "Records. Surveys. U. S. Lands," V, 143.



across the base line, at a point 61.60 chains west of the southeast corner of section 31, T 1 N, R 5 W, called "Bend of Kentucky road";

between sections 1 and 2, T 1 S, R 6 W, at a point 52.31 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 2 and 3, T 1 S, R 6 W, at a point 47.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 3 and 4, T 1 S, R 6 W, at a point 67.25 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace (the trace enters Pike County at this point);

PIKE COUNTY

across the Base, at a point 53.60 chains west of the southeast corner of section 33, T 1 N, R 6 W, called Indian Trail;

between sections 32 and 31, T 1 N, R 6 W, at a point 26.87 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections;

between ranges 6 and 7, at a point 65.50 chains north of the Base Line, called "Trail Leading from Vincenes to falls of Ohio";

between sections 35 and 26, T 1 N, R 7 W, at a point 67.00 chains east of the west corner common to these two sections, called Indian Trail;

between sections 26 and 27, T 1 N, R 7 W, at a point 19.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called "Road from Vincennes to the Falls" (this is at the town of Algiers);

between 27 and 28, T 1 N, R 7 W, at a point 35.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called "Trail fr. Vincennes to Falls of Ohio";

between sections 28 and 29, T 1 N, R 7 W, at a point 33.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called "Trail fr Vincennes to Falls of Ohio" (this is on the line between Jefferson and Washington townships);

between sections 29 and 30, T 1 N, R 7 W, at a point 15.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called "Road from Vincennes to Falls of Ohio";

between ranges 7 and 8, T 1 N, at a point 41.50 chains north of the southeast corner of section 25, T 1 N, R 8 W, called Vincennes Trace (this is at the town of Alford);

between sections 25 and 26, T 1 N, R 5 W, at a point 56.70 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 26 and 27, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 45.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace (this is at the town of Petersburg);

between sections 27 and 28, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 50.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 21 and 28, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 68.50 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections. Called "a road leading from the Falls to Vincennes" (another trail led west out of Petersburg and crossed the line between sections 28 and 29, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 53.50 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections);

between sections 21 and 20, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 7.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called "Trace from Louisville to Vincennes";

between 20 and 17, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 64.00 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 17 and 18, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 3.00 chains north of the south corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace;

between sections 18 and 7, T 1 N, R 8 W, at a point 35.00 chains west of the east corner common to these two sections, called Vincennes Trace.

[Here the trace entered "Barton's claim" or "reserve," a private claim. From this point no record of the trace is given in the surveyors' notes.]

RECORD OF WILLIAM RECTOR'S SURVEY OF THE TRACE¹

SURVEY of the Old Vincennes Trace Leading from the Ohio River in Clark's Grant, To Vincennes, on the Wabash. July 11, 1805.

Went to a poplar & two beeches on the bank of the Ohio river S. W. Corner to Clarks grant, & traced a line thereof N. 40° W. 320 poles to two Elms & a Beech on the bank of falling Run, then measured another line thereof N 2° E. 184 poles, where struck the Vincennes trace, in Parker's old improvements, thence with the meanders of said trace from line of Clarks Grant.

N 79 W	5.00	
N 53 W	4.50	
N 69 W	5.00	
N 49 W	25.00	
N 60 W	10.00	At 9.50 a creek 12 lks wide. S.
West	17.00	At 16.00 a branch 8 " " S. E.
N 60 W	8.50	
N 87 W	5.00	A Beech 20 in dia. marked "To C. G. 1 M."
N 82 W	9.00	
S 85 W	21.00	
N 87 W	5.00	
N 65 W	5.00	
N 86 W	6.00	
N 66 W	18.00	
S 80 W	6.00	A Branch 6 lks wide S. E.
N 73 W	10.00	A Beech 9 in dia. marked "To C. G. 2 M."
N 57 W	6.00	
N 20 W	11.50	
N 42 W	10.00	
North	7.00	
N 48 W	7.00	

¹From "Clark Land Grant Miscellaneous Record No. 1. Land Depart. State of Indiana," pp. 37-46. State Auditor's Office, State House, Indianapolis.

N 73 W	8.00	
N 87 W	22.00	
N 66 W	8.50	A B. Oak 20 in dia. marked "To C. G. 3 M."
N 86 W	6.00	
N 47 W	9.00	
S 79 W	8.00	
N 70 W	5.00	
N 53 W	3.50	At 3.00 E. fork of Buck creek, 15 lks wide. S. E.
N 81 W	48.50	A Beech 6 in dia marked "To C. G. 4 M."
N 70 W	12.00	
S 80 W	28.50	
S 68 W	36.50	
S 80 W	3.00	A B. Oak 22 in dia. marked "C. G. 5 M."
S 80 W	13.00	
N 80 W	17.00	
N 67 W	7.50	July 12 th , 1805.
N 56 W	42.50	A Beech 18 in dia. marked "To C. G. 6 M."
N 88 W	11.00	
N 67 W	12.50	
N 42 W	19.00	
N 28 W	15.50	At 10.50 middle fork of Buck Cr.
N 46 W	5.00	
N 70 W	5.00	
N 44 W	12.00	A Beech 12 in dia marked "To C. G. 7 M."
N 44 W	70.00	Further
N 70 W	10.00	A Beech 28 in dia. marked "To C. G. 8 M."
N 70 W	80.00	At 30 a branch 3 lks wide NW. A cabbin near the spring at 75.00 Buck Cr. 50 lks. wide S. W. at 80.00 a Beech 8 in dia marked "To C. G. 9 M"
N 70 W	3.00	Further
N 50 W	26.00	
N 77 W	41.00	At 6.00 a Deer lick & branch 4 lks wide. E.
S 70 W	10.00	A beech 30 in dia. marked "To C. G. 10 M."
N 82 W	22.00	
N 52 W	4.50	
N 82 W	45.00	

S 85 W	8.50	A W. Oak 5 in dia. marked "To C. G. 11 M."
N 74 W	40.00	
West	22.00	
S 70 W	7.00	
S 58 W	11.00	A Poplar 36 in dia marked "To C. G. 12 M.
S 82 W	13.50	
N 77 W	5.00	
N 84 W	9.00	July 13 th . 1805.
West	10.50	
S 71 W	7.50	
S 55 W	19.50	At 15.00 a branch 18 lks wide S.
S 72 W	15.00	A B. Oak 22 in dia. marked "To C. G. 13 M."
S 76 W	31.50	
S 40 W	11.00	
S 72 W	26.00	Ind. Cr. 15 lks wide. SW. good water.
West	11.50	A W. Oak 18 in dia. marked "To C. G. 14 M."
N 78 W	21.00	
S 78 W	12.50	
N 72 W	31.00	
N 80 W	15.50	A B. Oak 18 in dia. marked "To C. G. 15 M."
N 63 W	8.00	
N 81 W	30.00	
S 83 W	12.00	
N 76 W	10.50	
N 59 W	19.50	A B. Oak 18 in dia. marked "To C. G. 16 M."
N 59 W	8.00	
N 88 W	11.50	
N 67 W	40.50	
N 80 W	12.00	
S 87 W	7.00	
N 83 W	1.00	A Hickory 12 in dia. marked "To C. G. 17 M."
N 83 W	80.00	A Hickory 14 in dia. marked "To C. G. 18 M."

N 83 W	80.00	A W. Oak 20 in dia. marked "To C. G. 19 M."
N 83 W	51.00	Further
N 33 W	6.00	
N 70 W	23.00	A W. Oak 14 in dia. marked "To C. G. 20 M."
N 70 W	10.00	
N 85 W	27.00	
N 44 W	10.00	
N 63 W	23.50	
N 83 W	5.50	
S 60 W	4.00	A W. Oak 19 in dia. marked "To C. G. 21 M."
N 88 W	25.50	
S 80 W	21.50	
N 75 W	8.00	
N 43 W	13.00	
N 75 W	12.00	A W. Oak 14 in dia. marked "To C. G. 22 M."
S 84 W	13.50	
S 70 W	6.50	
S 60 W	27.00	
S 84 W	33.00	A Hickory 12 in dia. marked "To C. G. 23 M."
S 77 W	29.00	
S 67 W	10.00	
S 82 W	12.00	
S 80 W	29.00	A B. Oak 12 in dia. marked "To C. G. 24 M."
N 65 W	10.00	
S 84 W	18.50	
N 65 W	8.50	
N 81 W	12.50	
N 44 W	5.50	
N 58 W	25.00	A W. Oak 20 in dia marked "To C. G. 25 M"
N 58 W	22.50	At 1.25 big blue Ri. 275 lks wide. S. W.
N 3 W	20.50	
N 60 W	16.00	

N 87	W	15.00	
N 52	W	6.00	A Hickory 24 in dia. marked "To C. G. 26 M."
N 45	W	8.00	
N 25	W	19.50	
N 70	W	30.00	
N 44	W	7.50	
N 63	W	7.50	
N 83	W	7.50	A B. Oak 24 in dia. marked "To C. G. 27 M."
N 73	W	9.00	
N 52	W	44.50	
N 62	W	7.00	
N 70	W	19.50	A B. Oak 30 in dia. marked "To C. G. 28 M."
N 70	W	31.00	
N 62	W	18.50	
N 45	W	13.50	
N 72	W	14.50	
N 80	W	2.50	A Hickory 9 in dia marked "To C. G. 29 M."
N 80	W	11.00	further.
N 66	W	4.50	
N 85	W	9.00	
N 60	W	9.00	
N 50	W	6.00	
S 77	W	18.00	
N 57	W	8.00	
N 83	W	14.50	A Poplar 20 in dia. marked "To C. G. 30 M."
N 83	W	13.00	further.
N 75	W	28.00	
N 85	W	13.50	
N 72	W	11.00	
N 41	W	6.50	
N 25	W	8.00	A Sugar 14 in dia marked "To C. G. 31 M."
N 25	W	6.50	further
N 46	W	5.50	A 4.50 Sullivan's Spring, E. July 15, 1805.
N 66	W	10.00	

N 47 W	7.50	
N 78 W	22.00	
N 68 W	21.00	
N 38 W	5.50	
N 54 W	2.00	A B. Oak 24 in dia. marked "To C. G. 32 M."
N 54 W	11.00	further
N 37 W	22.50	
N 20 W	29.00	
N 46 W	17.50	A Beech 12 in dia. marked To C. G. 33 M. Post on W bank of a branch 6 lks wide. S. E.
West	16.00	
N 73 W	19.00	
N 85 W	7.00	
N 66 W	11.00	
S 87 W	16.50	
N 85 W	6.50	
N 56 W	4.00	A Beech 15 in dia. marked "To C. G. 34 M."
N 81 W	11.50	
S 85 W	5.00	At 1.00 Little Blue river 200 lks wide S. E Samuel Hay [or Hays] lives on W. Bank
N 71 W	7.50	
N 58 W	55.00	
North	1.00	A W. Oak 12 in. dia. marked "To C. G. 35 M."
North	2.00	
N 49 W	42.50	At 30.00 a Run 4 lks wide. N. E.
N 62 W	16.00	
N 75 W	15.00	
N 54 W	4.50	A Dogwood 5 in dia. marked "To C. G. 36 M."
N 41 W	22.00	
N 51 W	51.50	
N 37 W	6.50	A W. Oak 28 in dia marked "To C. G. 37 M."
N 50 W	12.00	

N 75 W	14.00	
N 60 W	21.00	
N 40 W	8.50	
N 10 W	8.00	At 5.00 a Brook 12 lks wide N. W.
West	16.50	A Beech 10 in dia. marked "To C. G. 38 M" near a Brook.
West	18.00	further
N 42 W	6.50	
N 80 W	4.50	A Brook 12 lks wide. runs S.
N 38 W	31.00	
N 50 W	5.00	
N 64 W	15.00	A Beech 9 in dia marked "To C. G. 39 M."
N 59 W	20.00	
N 81 W	13.00	At 3.00 a Branch 10 lks wide. westerly.
S 75 W	7.00	At 5.00 a " 12 " " S. W.
S 47 W	25.50	
S 68 W	5.00	
S 84 W	6.00	
N 55 W	3.50	A beech 24 in dia. marked "To C. G. 40 M."
N 71 W	13.00	July 16, 1805.
S 75 W	25.50	At 21.00 a Branch 3 lks wide. S. W.
N 80 W	12.50	
S 72 W	16.00	At 10.75 a Branch 3 lks wide. S. W.
N 67 W	13.00	At 5.00 a " 4 " " S. W. & a Beech 14 in dia. marked "To C. G. 41 M."
S 80 W	40.00	
N 41 W	11.00	At 2.00 a Brook 10 lks wide. S. W.
N 60 W	19.00	
N 80 W	7.00	
S 76 W	3.00	A Sugar 14 in dia. marked "To C. G. 42 M."
N 78 W	6.00	
S 52 W	4.00	
N 64 W	2.50	
West	7.00	
N 74 W	8.50	
West	37.50	

N	79	W	14.50	A Beech 12 in dia. marked "To C. G. 43 M"
S	83	W	7.00	A Whet Stone Cave
S	73	W	9.00	
N	82	W	4.50	At 2.00 a Branch 6 lks wide. N. W.
S	68	W	7.50	At 4.50 Same branch S W. and E. boundary of Vincennes tract, where marked a Beech 12 in dia. "To C. G. 43 M & 28 ch." Variation $5^{\circ} 15'$ E. July 16, 1805. Surveyed by W ^m . Rector. Mr. Rector says that the lines heretofore run around Clark's Grant, "were surveyed without any allowance for Variation, therefore, they are not true courses, but magnetic ones."

INDEX

INDEX

- Alford (Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Algiers (Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Austin, Moses, 229; account of journey across southern Indiana, quoted, 209-12.
- Austin, Stephen F., 209.
- Bacon, Lt. Josiah, comes to Vincennes, 236; journey overland to Louisville, 237-38.
- Bacon, Lydia, diary of expedition out to Vincennes and back to Louisville, quoted, 237-38.
- Barber, Levi, surveyor, 227.
- Barker, Elihu, map by, showing roads across southern Indiana, mentioned, 228n.
- Barrett, Col. James, 198.
- Battle of Fallen Timbers, 207.
- Beech Creek, crossed by Buffalo Trace, 183, 228n.
- Bent, Nahum, surveyor, 227.
- Bent, Silas, Jr., surveyor, 227.
- Benton, Stephen, surveyor, 227.
- Big Bone Lick (Ky.), 185.
- Bingham, Henry Vest, route followed by, going from New Albany to Vincennes, 243.
- Blazing of traces, 210, 212.
- Blockhouses, 235-36.
- Blue River, Buffalo Trace crosses, 183, 191, 193, 194, 203, 210, 225, 229, 240-41, 244, 267.
- Bodley, Temple, on Clark's 1786 expedition, 198.
- Boone, Daniel, 186.
- Bradford (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Buck Creek, 225, 263. *See also* Deer Creek.
- Buckingham, Ebenezer, Jr., surveyor, 227.
- Buell, Joseph, on march up Red Banks Trace, 200-1; on march overland from Vincennes to the Falls, 202.
- Buffalo, encountered by early travelers, 184-85, 185-86, 201, 202, 203-4, 206, 214; roads made by, 184, 185, 245.
- Buffalo Trace, role in Indiana history, 184; description of route, 186-87; how called in earliest references to, 187; early allusions to, in literature, 188-89; marked, 210, 212; used in defining boundaries of Clark County, 219; efforts to obtain improvements and travelers' accommodations on, 219-20; used in defining boundaries in Vincennes Treaty, 222; survey of part of, 223, 224-26, 262-69; record of route of, in surveyors' field notes, 226-28, 249-61; how referred to, in surveyors' notes, 227, 249-61; improvements and alterations of, 228-29, 241; course of, in relation to present-day locations, 229; patrolled during Indian hostilities, 235-36, 238; decline of, as new routes of travel developed, 240-46. *See also* under names of travelers, Mail route.
- Buntin, Robert, clerk of Knox County, issued ferry licenses, 212; surveyor, 227.
- Burnet, Jacob, journey over Buffalo Trace, 213-15, 229.
- Burrall, Charles, assistant postmaster general, arranges for mail route between Louisville and Kaskaskia by Vincennes, 216-17.

- Cahokia (Ill.), on mail route, 218, 231, 233.
- Castleton (Vt.), party from, travels across southern Indiana, 245-46.
- Cauthorn, Henry S., on Buffalo Trace, 187.
- Chambers, Samuel, sketch, 244n; tavern, 243n, 246.
- Chambersburg (Ind.), 244n.
- Clark, George Rogers, references in "Memoir" to overland route from Vincennes to the Falls, 188-89; effect of victory on Vincennes, 189-90; appealed to by citizens of Vincennes, for aid against the Indians, 195, 197; expedition against the Indians (1786), 197-99; aids Rector in starting survey of Buffalo Trace, 224; on Buffalo Trace, 228.
- Clark, William, appointments as justice of peace and militia officer, 208.
- Clark County, creation of, 219.
- Clark's Grant, 207, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 262; population (1800), 219.
- Clark's Trace, 198, 202, 203. *See also* Buffalo Trace.
- Clarksville (Ind.), 183, 207; described by Moses Austin, 210; by Jedidiah Morse, 208; rendezvous for Clark's expedition (1786), 197.
- Clarksville Trace, *see* Buffalo Trace.
- Corydon (Ind.), 240, 241, 242, 243.
- Craig, David (?), on Clark's 1786 expedition, 198.
- Crawford County, record of the course of the Buffalo Trace through, 252.
- Croghan, George, 185.
- Crystal Barren (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Cuzco (Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 229, 236.
- Darby, William, *Emigrant's Guide*, on road across southern Indiana from Louisville to Vincennes, 183, 184, 240.
- Davis, Thomas T., contractor to carry mail between Louisville and Vincennes, 231n-32n.
- Decker, Aaron, ferry on White River, 242.
- Deer (Buck?) Creek, 194.
- Delaware Indians, village on White River, 188, 211.
- Denny, Major Ebenezer, on march up to Vincennes, 201; on march overland from Vincennes to Falls, 202, 203-4.
- Deschee (DeShay) River (River du Shies), 203, 228.
- Detroit (Mich.), 237.
- Douglass, James, on Big Bone Lick, 185.
- Dubois County, record of the course of the Buffalo Trace through, 258-60.
- Edgar, John, 217n.
- Ferries, 184; licenses for, issued in Knox County, 212; rates charged by, 244n; Decker's, on White River, 242; Harbin's, on White River, 212, 242; Hawkins', on West Fork of White River, 243n; Heath's, on the Ohio at Clarksville, 210; Lusk's, on the Ohio, 220; McGowan's, on East Fork of White River, 238n-39n; Oatman's, on Ohio River, 243, 245; Perry's, on East Fork of White River, 243; on White River, 211, 212.
- Filson, John, comes to Vincennes, 190-91; journeys overland from Vincennes to the Falls, 190-95, 196, 228; attacked by Indians, 196.
- Finney, Capt. Walter, 199.

- Floyd, Charles, contractor for carrying mail between Louisville and Vincennes, 231.
- Floyd County, record of courses of Buffalo Trace through, 249-50.
- Floyds Knobs, on Buffalo Trace, 183, 186, 187, 229, 243, 245.
- Fontaine, Capt. ———, 243, 245.
- Fordham, Elias Pym, on trail blazes, 212n.
- Fort Finney (Ind.), 199, 210. *See also* Fort Steuben.
- Fort Harrison, Indian attack on (1812), 239.
- Fort Steuben (Ind.), 206. *See also* Fort Finney.
- Fort Wayne (Ind.), Indian attack on (1812), 239.
- Fowler, Jacob, surveyor, 227.
- Fredericksburg (Ind.), 246.
- Freeman Line, marking eastern boundary of Vincennes Tract, 225.
- French, at Vincennes, relations with Americans, 190, 195.
- French Lick (Great Lick, Ind.), 185-86, 198, 202, 203, 206, 228, 235, 236n, 242, 243, 244.
- Gaines, Capt. Bernard (?), on Clark's 1786 expedition, 198.
- Galena (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229
- Gallatin, Albert, secretary of the treasury, 222.
- Game, 193, 194, 205, 214; disappearance from southern Indiana, 220-21. *See also* Buffalo.
- Georgetown (Ky.), paper mill, 230.
- Gibson, John, secretary, Indiana Territory, 219.
- Governor's Trace, 229n.
- Greenville (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Gunther's chain (surveyor's chain), 225n.
- Habersham, Joseph, postmaster general, on Louisville-Vincennes-Kaskaskia mail route, 217-18, 231; on negligence of post rider, 232-33, 233-34.
- Hamtramck, John Francis, left in charge at Vincennes, 202, 204.
- Hancock (Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Harbin, Joshua, ferry on White River, 212, 242n.
- Hargrove, Capt. William, ordered to command patrol of traces in southern Indiana, 235.
- Harmar, Gen. Josiah, ordered to Vincennes, 200-2; on march overland from Vincennes to Falls, 202-3, 228.
- Harris, William, surveyor, 227.
- Harris, William Tell, on trail blazes, 212n.
- Harrison, William Henry, governor of Indiana Territory, 219; creates and defines boundaries of Clark County, 219; recommends establishing taverns on roads and traces in Indiana Territory, 219, 220; humanitarian attitude toward Indians, 221; wins land cessions from Indians, 221-22, 225n, 226; orders changes in route of Buffalo Trace, 229; aids Elihu Stout in bringing printing press to Vincennes, 230; mentions poor mail service, 232; on Buffalo Trace, 236n; and War of 1812, p. 238.
- Harrison County, record of the course of the Buffalo Trace through, 250-52.
- Harvey (Harvie), ———, tavern, 211.
- Hawkins, William, ferry on West Fork of White River, 243.
- Hay or Hays, Samuel E., cabin on Buffalo Trace, 226, 267.
- Haysville (Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 229.

- Heath, Andrew, licensed to keep ferry on the Ohio at Clarksville, 210.
- Heckewelder, John, on buffalo at French Lick, 185-86; escorts party of Indians from Vincennes to Marietta, 205-6, 228.
- Helm, Capt. Leonard, 188.
- Hempstead, Edward, letter to Mansfield on journey from Louisville to Vincennes, 230.
- Henderson (Ky.), 200, 220.
- Herrodsburg (Ky.), 197.
- Heth, ———, tavern, 240.
- Heth, Harvey, surveyor, 227.
- Hilton, ———, tavern, 243.
- Hindustan (Ind.), 246.
- Hulme, Thomas, account of journey in southern Indiana, cited, 240, 244n.
- Illinois, County of, 190.
- Illinois Territory, created, 241.
- Indian Creek, crossed by Buffalo Trace, 183, 194, 228n, 240.
- Indian trails, 184, 186.
- Indiana Territory, established, 205, 219; divided, 241.
- Indians, hostility toward Americans, 188, 189, 195, 204; siege of Vincennes, 195, 197; Clark leads expedition against (1786), 197-99; liquor trade with, 190, 204, 221; meet with Harmar in council, 202; with Putnam, 205; party of, escorted East by Heckewelder, 205-6; peaceful relations with Americans following Treaty of Greenville, 207; land claims and cessions, 207, 221, 226; revival of hostility toward Americans, 220, 235; disappearance from southern Indiana following War of 1812, 240.
- Jeffersonville (Ind.), 245.
- Johnston, General Washington, postmaster at Vincennes, 217, 218n.
- Jones, John Rice, of Kaskaskia, contractor for carrying mail between Louisville and Kaskaskia, 217, 218.
- Kaskaskia (Ill.), mail route to, 216-18, 231, 233.
- Kentucky, State of, large number of buffalo and buffalo roads in, 185.
- Kentucky Road, *see* Buffalo Trace.
- Knobs, *see* Floyds Knobs.
- Knox County, organization, 204, 205; ferry licenses issued in, 212n.
- Larkins family, attacked by Indians, 235.
- Le Gras, Col. J. M. P., commandant of Vincennes, 190, 197.
- Lexington (Ky.), 183, 232.
- Liquor trade, with Indians, 190, 204, 221.
- Liverpool (now Washington, Ind.), 243.
- Loury, William, post rider, Vincennes to Cahokia, murdered, 233.
- Louisville (Ky.), 183; described by Moses Austin, 209-10; mail route from, to Kaskaskia, by Vincennes, 216, 231, 232, 234; two routes of travel between Vincennes and, described, 242-46; mentioned by travelers on Buffalo Trace, 188, 189, 190, 196, 199, 209, 215, 230, 237, 238.
- Louisville Trace, *see* Buffalo Trace.
- Lusk's Ferry, on Ohio, 220.
- McDonald, ———, tavern, 242.
- McDonald, John, builds blockhouse, 236.
- McDonald, William, builds blockhouse, 236.
- McGowan, Sarah, 238n-39n.
- McGowan, William or Thomas, 239n.

- Madmoiselle, Vermillion chief, guide for Filson, 191, 192-95.
- Mail route, established between Louisville and Kaskaskia on Buffalo Trace, 216-18, 230; extended to Cahokia, 218; rates paid for carrying, 216-17, 231-32n; schedules, 218, 231, 232, 234; Louisville to Vincennes, poor service, 232-34; drowning of one post rider and murder of another, 233.
- Mansfield, Jared, surveyor general, 224n, 225n, 226, 230; on surveying tract of land ceded by Vincennes Treaty, 222-23.
- Maps, eastern part of Vincennes Land District, showing Buffalo Trace, mentioned, 228; by Filson, 196; land office (1808?), showing Buffalo Trace in Knox County, mentioned, 227-28; showing roads across southern Indiana, mentioned, 183n, 186n, 209n, 228n; showing route of Buffalo Trace as outlined in surveyors' records, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259.
- Marietta (Ohio), 205.
- Mason, Richard Lee, 246.
- Melish, John, map, 186n.
- Miami Indians, Wayne's victory over, 207.
- Michaux, André, on journey across southern Indiana, 208-9, 228-29.
- Miley family, of White Oak Springs, 242n.
- Miller, ———, tavern, 246.
- Mooreville (Floyd Co., Ind.), *see* Floyds Knobs.
- More (or Moore), Widow, tavern, 243n, 244.
- Morris, ———, tavern, 244.
- Morrison, ———, 213, 214.
- Morrison, James, 217n.
- Morse, Jedidiah, on Clarksville, 207-8.
- Mud Holes (Dubois Co., Ind.), on Buffalo Trace, 183, 235-36n, 240, 242, 244.
- New Albany (Ind.), 241, 243, 244, 246.
- New Albany-Vincennes Road, 246.
- North, Asahel, journeys across southern Indiana, 245-46.
- Northwest Territory, established, 205.
- Norton (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Oatman, Joseph, ferry on Ohio River, 243, 245.
- Ohio River, buffalo on, 184-85; ferries on, 210n, 220, 243, 245.
- Orange County, record of the course of the Buffalo Trace through, 252-56.
- Otwell (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Palmer, John, on route of the Buffalo Trace, 186-87.
- Paoli (Ind.), 243, 246.
- Paper mill, at Georgetown, Ky., 230.
- "Parker's old improvements," Floyd Co., 262.
- Patoka River, crossed by roads across southern Indiana, 183, 192, 193, 203, 228n, 241.
- Perry, ———, ferry on East Fork of White River, 243.
- Petersburg (White Oak Springs, Ind.), 183, 212, 229, 236, 242.
- Piankeshaw Indians, Harmar holds council with, 202.
- Pigeon Roost Massacre, 239.
- Pike County, record of the course of the Buffalo Trace through, 260-61.
- Pittsburgh (Pa.), 183, 190, 232.
- Pope, Worden, postmaster at Louisville, 216.
- Portersville (Ind.), 236.
- Post riders, hardships, 232-34; drowning and murdering of, 233; negligence of, 232-33, 233-34.

- Prices for carrying mails, 216-17, 231-32n; packhorses, 200; rates on ferries, 238n, 244n; transportation of baggage by water and overland, 192; at Vincennes, 204.
- Pride, Woolsey, builds blockhouse, 236.
- Prince, William, postmaster at Vincennes, 232-33.
- The Prophet, 235, 238.
- Putnam, Rufus, council with the Indians, 205.
- Rangers' camps, established on Buffalo Trace, 229, 236.
- Rector, William, surveys Buffalo Trace, 224-26; record of survey of the Trace, quoted, 262-69; runs 1804 Indian boundary line, 226.
- Red Banks Trace, 200, 236.
- Roads, opened by settlers, 245; blazed, 212. *See also* Buffalo Trace.
- St. Clair, Arthur, 205, 208.
- St. Clair, Arthur, Jr., journey over Buffalo Trace, 213-15, 229.
- St. Clair, William, of Kaskaskia, requests mail route from Louisville, 216.
- Salt licks, frequented by buffalo, 185-86.
- Sanford, David, 227.
- Saugrain, Antoine, on Vincennes, 204.
- Shakertown (Ind.), 245.
- Shannon, William, 189n.
- Sholts, Capt. Frederick, 243, 245; ferry on East Fork of White River, 244n.
- Silver Creek, 195.
- Sisson, James, surveyor, 227.
- Smith, Hosea, tavern, 242.
- Snyder, William, 243.
- Springer, John, contractor to carry mails between Louisville and Vincennes, 231n-32n.
- Stone, Augustus, surveyor, 227.
- Stout, Elihu, edits Vincennes newspapers, 230-34, 242.
- Stubbs, Robert, surveyor, 227.
- Sullivan, Daniel, 225n-26n, 227.
- Sullivan's Spring (Ind.), 183, 225, 266.
- Sullivan's Station (Knox Co., Ind.), 225.
- Surveys, of Buffalo Trace, 224-26, 262-69; rectangular, route of Buffalo Trace outlined in field notes of, 227, 249-62.
- Taverns, 184; efforts to establish on Buffalo Trace and other roads, 219-20; Chambers', 244; Harvey's, near Vincennes, 211; Hilton's, at Liverpool, 243; McDonald's, Pike Co., 242; Miley's, near White Oak Springs, 242; Morris', 244; Robinson's, at New Albany, 241; Small's, at Vincennes, 212; Squire Smith's, at White Oak Springs, 242; Widow More's (or Moore's), 244; Williamson's, 244.
- Taylor, Capt. Zachary, 238n-39n.
- Tecumseh, 235.
- Thacher, George, 217.
- Tippecanoe, Battle of, 237, 238.
- Treaties, Indian, Fort Wayne (1803), 220, 221-22; Greenville, 207, 208, 235; Grouseland, 226; Vincennes (1804), 222, 226.
- Troop movements, on Buffalo Trace, 189n, 198, 200-1, 236.
- Tupper, Edward W., surveyor, 227.
- Unionville (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Valeene (Ind.), near Buffalo Trace, 229.
- Vaudreuil, M. de, governor of Canada, on great number of buffalo on the Ohio, 184-85.
- Vigo, Francis, 214.

- Vincennes (Ind.), route from Pittsburgh to, 183; effect of Clark's conquest on, 189-90; besieged by Indians, 195, 197; Clark's expedition to defense of, 197-99; under garrison left by Clark (1786-87), 200; increase in American population, 201-2; Harmar at, 200-2; described by Antoine Saugrain, 204; made capital of Indiana Territory, 205, 219; described by Moses Austin, 211, 212; on mail route between Louisville and Kaskaskia, 216, 230, 231, 232, 234; and surrounding area, population (1800), 219; two routes of travel between Louisville and, described, 242-45.
- Vincennes Convention, memorial to Congress, 219-20.
- Vincennes Trace, *see* Buffalo Trace.
- Vincennes Tract, 222, 223, 225; boundaries of, 221n.
- Vincennes *Indiana Gazette*, 230-31; on land acquired by Vincennes Treaty, 222.
- Vincennes *Western Sun*, first issue, 231; dependence on arrival of mails for news, 231, 232-33, 233-34; on mail service, 232-33, 234; letter from "A Traveller" on routes of travel between Louisville and Vincennes, quoted, 242-45.
- Virginia, government of northwestern country, 190; Executive Board of, authorizes expedition against Indians in Northwest, 197.
- Volney, Constantin, on Buffalo Trace, 209, 229.
- White River, Buffalo Trace crosses, 183, 191-92, 202, 203, 211, 228, 241.
- War of 1812, comes to Indiana, 236-39.
- Washington (Liverpool, Ind.), 243.
- Wayne, Anthony, victory over the Indians, 207.
- Wea Indians, Harmar holds council with, 202.
- Webster, Lt. Rezin, 210.
- Welby, Adlard, 244n.
- Whetstone cave, on Buffalo Trace, 269.
- White Oak Springs, *see* Petersburg.
- Wilderness Road, 186.
- Williamson, ———, tavern, 244.
- Winn, Thomas M., 231n.
- Wyandot Indians, kindness to Moses Austin, 210-11.
- Yellow Banks Trace, 236.

INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME 15
NUMBER 3

Education and Reform at NEW HARMONY



Correspondence of WILLIAM MACLURE
and MARIE DUCLOS FRETAGEOT
1820-1833

Edited by
ARTHUR E. BESTOR, Jr.

INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1948

Copyright, 1948,
by the
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PREFACE

THE Workingmen's Institute at New Harmony, founded in 1838, is a still living product of the social and educational enthusiasm that stirred the little Indiana community in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Though its founder, William Maclure, was somewhat contemptuous of history—"I see nothing worth the trouble," he once wrote, "in searching for antiquities, and studying the learned disquisitions of antiquarians"¹—the Institute has wisely disregarded his views and over the years has gathered and preserved the historical record of the various movements that centered at New Harmony and radiated their influence throughout the Old Northwest.

From many points of view the heart of its extensive manuscript collection is the correspondence between William Maclure and Marie D. Fretageot. Maclure was the principal associate of Robert Owen in the social and educational experiment of the middle 1820's, and was himself the prime mover in making the community by the Wabash the greatest center in its day of scientific research and publication in the West. The letters that passed between him and his trusted adviser and deputy, Madame Fretageot, over a period of nearly fifteen years constitute the only continuous contemporary record of the genesis, culmination, and dissolution of Owen's social experiment and of the steadier advance of the scientific and educational programs connected with it.

Though utilized in two recent biographies of individuals associated with New Harmony,² the Maclure-Fretageot cor-

¹ William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (3 volumes, New Harmony, 1831-38), I, 229. For a bibliographical discussion of this work see pp. 407-8, n. 11, below.

² Richard William Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (Harvard Historical Studies, XLV, Cambridge, 1940); and Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler, *Thomas Say, Early American Naturalist* (Springfield, Ill., 1931). One document that has not yet come to light is a diary of William Maclure for 1824, quoted by Frank Podmore, *Robert Owen: A*

respondence has not received the attention it deserves from historians of the Owenite movement. One explanation, perhaps, is the handwriting. Maclure once chided Madame Fretageot for not carrying out fully the instructions in his letters, then added, "perhaps they are so scrawled you cannot have time to read them."³ One who looks at the manuscripts today can only admire the devotion that inspired her to decipher them at all. I have tried to produce a faithful transcription, with the aid of such amateur cryptographers as I could enlist. I would be bold indeed to claim, however, that a few characters may not have been misread. And candor requires me to admit that two or three of my marks of ellipsis indicate passages that baffled me to the end.

Unfortunately Maclure's spelling is almost as bad as his chirography. One is tempted to add that his punctuation is worse than either, but the simple truth is that punctuation is entirely absent. To transpose his letters into type, character for character, is to advance them only half way toward intelligibility. Without altering his phraseology in any manner, I have added necessary punctuation (including apostrophes and, in rare instances, parentheses), capitalized the first letter of sentences and of proper names, italicized titles and foreign phrases, and divided the text into paragraphs. To help the reader through Maclure's vagrant spellings (reproduced literally in all cases), I have occasionally added the correct word in brackets, notably in the case of *famil*, which any reader might be pardoned for not recognizing as *female*. The customary three dots have been used to indicate every omission from the actual text or postscript of a letter, but have not been used when a purely formal element, such as date line or salutation, has been eliminated, or an unintentionally duplicated word excised.

This editorial treatment is intended to increase the comprehensibility, not to "improve" the style, of the two writers. No one, I think, can miss the fact that Maclure, despite his classical

Biography (2 volumes, London, 1906), I, 299, with the notation that it was at that time "preserved in the New Harmony Public Library."

³ See his letter of 11 Aug. 1826, below.

education, lacked a sure command of sentence structure. Nor can one fail to note Madame Fretageot's unsuccessful, but frequently charming, struggles with English idiom.

The information needed for a complete understanding of the present letters I have tried to weave into a continuous narrative. The source of every additional quotation has been indicated, but otherwise footnotes have been eschewed wherever possible. In discussing the financial and legal relations between Maclure and Owen, I have permitted myself the only major exception to this rule. Upon these matters the present correspondence sheds so much new light that a re-examination of all the existing evidence seems warranted.

I am grateful to the Workingmen's Institute of New Harmony for permission to publish the letters here presented, and to its librarian, Mrs. Margie Immenga, for kindnesses shown me in the course of my work there. The editing was begun while I held a Newberry Fellowship at the Newberry Library in Chicago, to whose librarian and staff I am deeply indebted for assistance and encouragement. The work was completed while I was a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, where I was privileged to use the combined resources of its library and the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society. For many helpful suggestions I am indebted to the staff of the Indiana Historical Society, and in particular to Miss Gayle Thornbrough, who saw the volume through the press and prepared the index.

Of all my obligations, the greatest is to Miss Livia Appel, editor of the University of Wisconsin Press. Though this publication was in no way an official responsibility of hers, she generously read and criticized the manuscript at every stage of its progress, bringing to bear upon it her profound sense of over-all structure and her meticulous care for matters of literary and scholarly form.

ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. WILLIAM MACLURE AND THE NEW HARMONY EXPERIMENT	291
II. MACLURE AND OWEN JOIN FORCES. 1820-1825...	300
III. THE NEW HARMONY KALEIDOSCOPE. January- September 1826	326
IV. OWEN AND MACLURE REACH AN OPEN BREAK. October 1826—May 1827	373
V. EPILOGUE	398
INDEX	409

I. WILLIAM MACLURE AND THE NEW HARMONY EXPERIMENT

THE COMMUNITY at New Harmony that Robert Owen founded in 1825 was not simply an experimental application of novel social and economic theories. It was a highly complex movement, representing the convergence of at least three distinct currents of thought, social, educational, and scientific.

Uppermost in the public mind, of course, was the doctrine of social reform that Owen had been preaching in England for about a decade, a doctrine that envisaged the reconstitution of society on the basis of autonomous co-operative communities, comprising one or two thousand members apiece, who should produce collectively the various goods and services they required. In one of its aspects the New Harmony experiment was an attempt to establish such a community, as a working model of what Owen termed "A New View of Society."

Underlying this doctrine, however, and even more deeply rooted in the past, was an educational theory whose distinctive contribution to the New Harmony enterprise—and to social reform in general—has not been given sufficient attention. As a matter of fact, the four essays that Owen published in 1813 and 1814 under the title *A New View of Society; or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character* were, at bottom, educational treatises. What Owen sought to advance was the education of the masses, unprovided for by the conventional schools of the day. For this purpose he devised or adapted new institutions, especially infant schools and agencies for the continuing education of employed adults. And he emphasized the kinds of training that would fit men and women for practical life. A better and happier social order was the ultimate end he had in view. But as his thinking progressed, he found it impossible to keep ends entirely divorced from means. Education might be the best instrument for the creation of a new social order, but in the meantime

society itself was one of the most potent of educational forces, and Owen came increasingly to feel that the malevolent influence of unreformed social institutions was bound to thwart the most enlightened educational scheme. It was the logic of his educational doctrine, in the last analysis, that made him a social reformer.

In its educational aspect, however, the New Harmony experiment embodied ideas of others than Owen himself. The pedagogical theories he professed were, in fact, part of the climate of advanced educational opinion in the early nineteenth century. Heinrich Pestalozzi and Philipp Emmanuel von Fellenberg were the great apostles, and many contemporary visitors linked their schools at Yverdon and Hofwyl with Owen's at New Lanark. While Pestalozzi and Fellenberg did not themselves push the social implications of their theories to the extreme conclusion that Owen reached, many of their followers went fully as far as he. In the 1840's James Pierrepont Greaves in England and Bronson Alcott in America were to go through an intellectual development analogous to Owen's, beginning as educational reformers and emerging as advocates of full-fledged social reorganization. But even earlier, in the generation strictly contemporary with Owen, the doctrines of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg were producing a ferment of social ideas in minds that came under their influence. Notable among these was William Maclure, through whom the ideological stream that had its source in Pestalozzi and Fellenberg flowed most directly into the New Harmony enterprise.

William Maclure, born in Scotland in 1763, was eight years older than Owen, and like him had accumulated a fortune by his own efforts. Just before the close of the eighteenth century he moved to Philadelphia, became an American citizen, and then, before the age of forty, retired from mercantile life to devote himself to science and education and, through them, to social reform. These three interests reinforced one another. A classical education such as he had received appeared to him futile when he discovered how little

it had contributed to his own scientific research; it appeared worse than futile when he considered how little it could ever contribute to the advancement of the laboring classes. A visit to the school of Pestalozzi at Yverdon in Switzerland in 1805 opened his eyes to the possibility of a useful education for the masses of the people—an education that might be made economically available to all by combining it with the pursuit of practical occupations, and that might contribute to the rapid advancement of the kind of knowledge he valued by emphasizing the natural sciences. In a letter of 1822 to Benjamin Silliman, apropos of the latter's efforts to advance the natural sciences at Yale, Maclure succinctly stated his own educational philosophy:

“Your ideas concerning the utility that would result to mankind by a more strict attention to positive knowledge in our Colleges, agree perfectly with my own. . . . When I retired from commerce about twenty-five years ago, I looked round for some occupation that might amuse me always, convinced that a man had the choice of his amusements as well as of his profession, and that common sense dictated an amusement that would produce the greatest good. . . . I adopted rock-hunting as an amusement in place of deer or partridge hunting, considering mineralogy and geology as the sciences most applicable to useful practical purposes. . . .

“In reflecting upon the absurdity of my own classical education, launched into the world as ignorant as a pig of anything useful, not having occasion to practice anything I had learned, except reading, writing, and counting, which any child could now acquire in six or eight months . . . I had been long in the habit of considering education one of the greatest abuses our species were guilty of, and of course one of the reforms the most beneficial to humanity. . . . Almost no improvement had been made in it for two hundred or three hundred years; there was immense room for change to put it on a par with the other functions of civilization. . . .

“I have been endeavoring, for some twenty years, to change the education of children, and stumbled by accident about

eighteen years ago on the school of Pestalozzi in Switzerland, which subserved the useful purposes that I had formed to myself of a rational education. I have been ever since doing something towards propagating and improving the scheme, and the success in the fruits are more than I expected. . . . I have little doubt that in time some such system will generally prevail in our country, where the power, being in the hands of the people, through the medium of our popular governments, renders a diffusion of knowledge necessary to the support of freedom. . . . You will perceive the consequence I attach to an almost equal division of property, knowledge, and power, as the only firm foundation of freedom which includes the happiness of mankind. . . . The reform in the common schools is the only mode of equalizing knowledge. Not one in a thousand in any country can have a college education, and when once the schools are modelled upon the forms of utility the colleges must follow, or none will attend them. That knowledge can be obtained in a twentieth part of the time that is wasted by the ancient, monkish system, there can be no doubt."¹

The practical efforts to which Maclure refers began immediately after his original acquaintance with Pestalozzian principles. Determined to establish a school on the same plan in America, he brought one of Pestalozzi's co-workers, Joseph Neef, to Philadelphia in 1806, and guaranteed him an income of five hundred dollars a year for three years while he learned the language, set up his school, and prepared a *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1808. Geological studies and expeditions occupied Maclure for the next decade, but by 1819 he was back in Europe establishing an industrial and agricultural school in Spain, where the rising tide of liberalism promised success for such an enterprise. During these years in Europe, Maclure also interested himself in two Pestalozzian teachers in Paris, Madame Marie Duclos

¹ William Maclure to Benjamin Silliman, 19 October 1822, in George P. Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman* (2 volumes, New York, 1866), II, 41-43. I am responsible for the paragraphing, and also for moving the third quoted sentence up from a later position in the letter.

Fretageot and Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Phiquepal d'Arusmont,² and he provided the means that enabled both of them to transfer their activities to Philadelphia, in 1821 and 1824 respectively. In 1823, however, reaction had triumphed in Spain, and Maclure was forced to abandon his own plans and leave the country. At the very moment he arrived in England, Robert Owen was planning his social experiment in America. Maclure's interest was aroused, but it was a moderate interest compared with the excitement generated among his friends in Philadelphia by the Owenite gospel. In the end their enthusiasm prevailed, and Maclure decided to join forces with Owen. Madame Fretageot and Phiquepal followed—perhaps one should say led—Maclure to New Harmony in January 1826, and Neef soon joined the group. Thus were reunited in the new community the leading pioneers of Pestalozzian education in America.

Maclure's interest in education was part and parcel of his interest in the natural sciences. The third major aspect of the New Harmony enterprise—its activity in scientific research and publishing—was his contribution, owing virtually nothing to Owen or Owenite ideas. As a matter of fact, Maclure's thinking was far in advance of his own day, for his conception of an institution that would combine teaching with research and publication was not to be worked out fully in America until the coming of the new university in the last third of the nineteenth century. As a man of science in his own right, Maclure had been active in the learned societies and academies which, rather than the schools or colleges, were in that day the principal agencies for the advancement of knowledge. He envisaged a combination of these different functions, and sought to realize his vision in the School of Industry he founded at New Harmony. This was a secondary

² The latter went by the name of William S. Phiquepal in America, and resumed the family name d'Arusmont only after his return to France and his marriage to Frances Wright in 1831. Madame Fretageot signed her name with initials only, but Maclure used the anglicized form, Mary D. Fretageot, in addressing his letters to her.

school, not a university, of course, but in its combination of instruction, research, and publication it resembled a modern institution of higher learning. Its teaching activities, particularly after the establishment of the Workingmen's Institute in 1838, included much that would today be called university extension. Its scientific faculty were selected with research in mind, and their investigations were encouraged and subsidized. Finally, the press which the School maintained for the publication of scientific works was in many respects a forerunner of the modern university press.

Maclure's wide contact with other men of science guaranteed the scholarly standing and importance of the venture. He had established his own reputation securely through the publication, in 1809, of his "Observations on the Geology of the United States, Explanatory of a Geological Map," in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society, a paper that enjoyed the unprecedented distinction of being republished in the very next volume of the *Transactions*, with the corrections and amplifications that eight more years of research had enabled him to make.³ On the scientific expeditions that Maclure undertook in this connection, he was accompanied by the naturalists Charles Alexandre Lesueur and Thomas Say. Moreover, the presidency of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, which Maclure held from 1817 until his death, brought him into personal contact with such men as Dr. Gerard Troost, the mineralogist, and into correspondence with such leaders of scientific thought as Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale, founder and editor of the *American Journal of Science and Arts*. Consequently when Maclure transferred his varied activities to New Harmony, he was able to take Say, Lesueur, Troost, and others with him, and to secure publicity in Silliman's *Journal* for the new research center in the West.

³ American Philosophical Society, *Transactions*, VI (1809), 411-28; new series, I (1818), 1-91; read respectively on 20 Jan. 1809 and 16 May 1817. For a professional evaluation of Maclure's work, see Charles Keyes, "William Maclure: Father of Modern Geology," in *Pan-American Geologist*, XLIII, 81-94 (Sept. 1925).

In the long perspective of time Maclure's contribution to New Harmony was more enduring than Robert Owen's. The New Harmony Community as a social experiment faded out in little more than two years, and in 1829 its organ, the *New-Harmony Gazette*, was transferred to New York under a new name. The School of Industry, however, existed many years longer, its organ the *Disseminator* continued publication until late in the 1830's, and its press was still issuing important works in natural history in the 1840's. The impetus that Maclure gave to science at New Harmony was continued by the son of his one-time colleague, David Dale Owen, who made New Harmony the headquarters for the monumental series of geological surveys that he conducted between 1837 and 1860 for various states and for the Federal government. And today the strongest bond between New Harmony and its historic past is the still active Workingmen's Institute, which Maclure established as part of his plan for advancing the scientific and practical education of adults.

Maclure's relationship to New Harmony is fully recorded in his correspondence with Madame Fretageot. The letters of both have been preserved in practically continuous sequence from 1820 until her death in 1833. Though closely associated in Maclure's various educational projects, the two correspondents were actually in each other's company for only brief periods of time. For this reason their letters include a wealth of information that in other circumstances would have been communicated by word of mouth.

The correspondence comprises approximately three hundred and fifty complete letters and fragments of some sixty-five others. From this total, fifty-two are printed here in whole or in part, thirty-four written by Maclure and eighteen by Madame Fretageot. So far as the New Harmony enterprise is concerned, the letters fall naturally into three great chronological divisions, corresponding respectively to chapters II, III-IV, and V of the present edition.

From 1820 to 1825 Maclure was in Europe and Madame Fretageot (after 1821) in Philadelphia. Of the one hundred

and fifty-three letters from this period that are preserved at New Harmony, twenty-three are printed or quoted in chapter II. They reveal the growing influence of Owen upon the thinking of the two educators and of the groups with which they were associated. The impact of Owenism in America was a complex thing, and these letters supplement in a significant way such important published sources thereon as the diaries of William Owen and Donald Macdonald, which recorded Owen's triumphal journeys in America, and the Pears papers and Pelham letters, which voiced the feelings of the persons who gathered at New Harmony in 1825, the first year of the experiment.⁴

Maclure was at New Harmony for only six of the fifteen months that followed his arrival in January 1826, but Madame Fretageot was in continuous residence. During his absences, from June until October and from November until April, the letters that passed between them dealt almost exclusively with the affairs of New Harmony. This period was in many respects the most critical in the history of the community. During its first year there had been disappointment and discontent over Owen's absence, but hope had mounted with his return in January 1826 for a continuous stay of a year and a half, and had by no means entirely faded when Maclure took his departure in June 1826. But by the following April, when Maclure returned from his second extended trip, the disintegration of the New Harmony community was all but complete. For these crucial months of frustration and defeat, existing published sources are seriously defective. The diaries and

⁴ William Owen, *Diary . . . from November 10, 1824, to April 20, 1825*, edited by Joel W. Hiatt (Indiana Historical Society Publications, IV, no. 1, Indianapolis, 1906); Donald Macdonald, *Diaries . . . 1824-1826*, with an introduction by Caroline Dale Snedeker (*ibid.*, XIV, no. 2, 1942); Thomas Clinton Pears, Jr. (ed.), *New Harmony, An Adventure in Happiness: Papers of Thomas and Sarah Pears* (*ibid.*, XI, no. 1, 1933), hereafter cited as *Pears Papers*; William Pelham, "Letters . . . Written in 1825 and 1826," edited by Caroline Creese Pelham, in Harlow Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indiana Historical Collections, [III], Indianapolis, 1916), pp. 360-417, hereafter cited as "Pelham Letters."

collections of correspondence previously mentioned had all terminated before the end of April 1826; the *New-Harmony Gazette*, being an official organ, ignored virtually every disagreeable reality; and Paul Brown's *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1827), though accurate in many factual details, was the work of a dour fanatic to whom the motives of all men but himself were suspect. The letters of 1826 and 1827 presented in chapters III and IV are thus of prime importance, coming as they do from two persons who were responsible leaders in the experiment, yet critical of its progress. This portion of the collection is printed here with substantial completeness, twenty-two of the twenty-seven extant letters being included.

With the resumption of the correspondence in 1828—after Maclure's longest stay in New Harmony—the final chronological division begins, extending to Madame Fretageot's death in 1833. So far as the New Harmony experiment is concerned, this is a long-drawn-out epilogue, for the Owenite experiment was over and most of the ideological issues and personal conflicts had been resolved. From approximately one hundred and seventy-five complete letters and sixty-five fragments (many of them postscripts to Maclure's articles for the *Disseminator*) six communications belonging to the winter of 1828-29 are excerpted in chapter V, and one fragment from 1830 is quoted in chapter IV. In these letters are pictured the latter-day activities of the school at New Harmony and the final meteoric passage of Robert Owen across the horizons of his former colleagues.

II. MACLURE AND OWEN JOIN FORCES

1820-1825

EDUCATIONAL REFORM was a long-established interest of William Maclure's in 1820, the year in which the correspondence preserved in the Workingmen's Institute at New Harmony begins. For at least a decade and a half he had been acquainted with the work of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, and it was fourteen years since he had sent Joseph Neef to Philadelphia and financed him in establishing the first Pestalozzian school in America. Latterly Maclure had been devoting most of his energy and money to the agricultural school he was initiating in Spain, but he had extended his interest and support as well to the Pestalozzian school of William S. Piquepal in Paris. It was perhaps through Piquepal that he had become acquainted with Madame M. D. Fretageot, for the earliest letters between them discuss her plan for a girls' school to be organized along lines similar to Piquepal's.

Their correspondence had begun prior to 1820, for the first letter in the collection, written by Maclure from Marseilles on 24 January 1820, mentions a communication, now lost, that he had just received from her. Yet their acquaintance was so new that he had still much to tell her about his previous activities and underlying convictions. The year 1820 was spent by Maclure in travel, the high point of which was a summer visit to Pestalozzi in Yverdon, Switzerland, where he renewed an acquaintance that had begun there fifteen years before. Of the five extant letters written by Maclure in 1820, the most informative are two from Yverdon.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, YVERDON, 22 MAY 1820

Your letter of the 12th May I received while at Geneva. I have come into Switzerland because I find the climate in summer more suitable to my system than at Paris and of course not for the purpose of leaving my house to Mr. Piquepal. The leaving

the house to Mr. Phiquepal was a second consideration arising out of the other, as I thought it might save him house rent and perhaps be sufficiently large for as many children as he could teach himself.

And after the experience that I have [had] I would not advise him to have any professors or assistants, as they have constantly injured and in some instances ruined the establishments according to the Pestalozzian system, of which the institute here is a striking example, which has been more than once reduced to extremities by the ambition and bad conduct of the professors and now is carried on by having a number of poor boys educated expressly as professors, and always a sufficient quantity to succeed those that become discontented and leave the institute, which is at present more flourishing than ever, having a good head (in a Mr. Smith [Joseph Schmid]) controlling and directing the whole. They have fortunately got rid of all the priests whose intrigues and diabolical machinations almost ruined the institute.

And Pestalozzi, who is now too old for active service, leaves the whole arrangement to Mr. Smidth [*sic*], and his grandson under the tutelage of Mr. Smidth. And the old man is now occupied in publishing an edition of all his works on education, which is printing in Germany supported by a large and general subscription, at the head of which is the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia &c.

From this 30 years I have considered ignorance as the cause of all the miseries and errors of mankind and have used all my endeavors to reduce the quantity of that truly diabolical evil. My experience soon convinced me that it was impossible to give any real information to men and that the only possible means of giving usefull knowledge to the world was by the education of children. About 15 years ago I stumbled upon the Pestalozzian system, which appeared to me to be the best that I had seen for the diffusion of usefull knowledge. I have therefore endeavoured to introduce it into the United States of America as the place I thought the most likely to succeed, and where I still think it will spread in the course of time, tho perhaps not in my time. I once thought it might spread even in France, protected by the division of property and consequent division of knowledge, but in that I fear I was premature. Altho the property is divided, the knowledge is still monopolized and in the possession of that class who have a direct and immediate interest in the propagation of the most brutal ignorance.

I am, however, willing to assist any experiment that may be made to show the few reflecting minds that may perhaps be in

France the utility of such a method. But I cannot flatter myself that any logic of mine could possibly change the opinion of any man in France in favor of the system. And consequently my presence in Paris could not possibly be of any use to Mr. Piquéal, as I have never been able to change the opinions of any of my servants in France respecting the most triffling deviation from their usual ro[u]tin[e]. When I first began, about 18 years ago, to keep horses in France I wished to feed them on the improved principles of all civilised countries that knows how to feed horses, and therefore bought a straw cutter, but could never persuade any of my coachmen to give my horses cut straw. People that won't reason can't be convinced. They always agreed in speaking that I was right, but in acting allways followed their old rotin.

I rather think that Mr. Piquéal will not, during his lifetime, find a more favorable moment for trying his experiment than the present, as it's more than probable every thing good will retrograde in France for some time.

I remain yours sincerely

WM MACLURE . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, YVERDON, 13 JUNE 1820

. . . As to America I used formerly to think that there was much more common sense than in any part of Europe, but since my last visit I have lost something of that favorable opinion, tho I still think them more usefully rational. And should you think it your interest to go there I shall aid you with all the recommendation or anything else in my power, tho I don't consider myself competent to give you any usefull council, as prejudices are strong there as well as in Europe. The changes that have lately taken place in the Society of the United States will in my opinion be in favor of reason and rationality. . . .

Unfavorable as the prospects of an educational revival in America might be, the prospects in France appeared to Maclure darker still, and he grew increasingly pessimistic as the year wore on. On 9 July 1820 while still at Yverdon he wrote Madame Fretageot that he had sent a complete set of Pestalozzi's works to Piquéal, only to have it turned back at the French frontier. "Not a ray of light," he commented, "is permitted to disturb the political and religious obscurity of the Royal French Kingdom from without, and I fear that the internal

light is mere moonshine favorable to every species of intrigue and chicane." As he crossed France on his return from Switzerland, he reported to her, in a letter of 22 November from Tours, that "there is a growth of ignorance springing up that will chock [choke] all the raison of the revolution and plunge the nation into darkness and barbarism."

The upshot was that Maclure gave support, both financial and moral, to Madame Fretageot's plans for establishing herself and her school in the New World. Her letters of 1821, addressed to Maclure in Madrid, tell the story of her migration. She left Paris on 10 July 1821, but was held in port at Le Havre for several days by a storm, and did not reach New York until September, after a passage of forty-seven days. She finally settled in Philadelphia, and on 7 November 1821 wrote Maclure that her school at 240 Filbert Street would be ready to receive pupils on the 20th of the month. In that letter and others she reported the friendly assistance given by John Griscom of New York, professor of chemistry at Columbia College and founder of what became the New York High School for Boys, and Dr. Philip M. Price, a young Philadelphia physician, son of the superintendent of the Friends' Boarding School in West-Town.

These contacts were significant for the future, because Griscom and Price shared Madame Fretageot's growing interest in the educational experiments of Robert Owen at New Lanark, Scotland. Griscom had spent three days there with Owen as early as 1819, and was preparing to publish an extensive account of the visit in his *Year in Europe*, which finally appeared in 1823. Price, on the other hand, was introduced to Owen's ideas by Madame Fretageot, who gave him a copy of Henry Grey Macnab's *New Views of Mr. Owen of Lanark Impartially Examined*, . . . Also *Observations on the New Lanark School*, in the French translation by Laffon de Ladébat, which had been published in Paris in 1821, the year of her departure. This gift, in fact, occasioned the earliest reference to Owen in the correspondence that passed between Madame Fretageot and Maclure.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA, 16 MARCH 1822

. . . Doctor Price, of whom I spoke so often, has just now left me. He is so much pleased with what he knows about Mr. Owen, having given to him the traduction of Macnab *Observation* and translated by Lafond Ladébat, that he thinks if he can find a man of good sense he will send him at New-Lanark in order to render him able to raise in this country such an establishment.

The multitude of poor increase every day, and we have observed that the means employed to prevent their misery are very bad tho dictated by benevolence, because it induces them to live in a perfect idleness and in a kind of slavery just as it is in Europe. The best means to prevent such result is to do for them what Owen has done. But an opposition which is not of a little consequence is that the man chosen for that purpose could be helped by a few number of men whose good sense and perfect harmony could able him to follow the plan without been obliged to apply to those whose purse are filled up but full of prejudices.

You have not a just idea how much the people here is far to be reasonable. Each sect tries to overcome the others. Their conversation is so much absurd, so disgusting, they are so ignorant about their true happiness, that every one runs after a fantom and does just as the dog of the fable, which let fall the piece of flesh he has in his mouth to run after the shade he perceived in the water. I observe in all their society, their acting are always stimulated by ostentation, vanity, in short by ignorance. . . .

Owen's "new view of society" had implications far beyond the field of education, as Madame Fretageot perceived. Since 1817, in fact, Owen had been publicly preaching in England his doctrine of social reform, involving the establishment of co-operative communities. And the idea of a community of goods was gaining ground in his mind. His broader social philosophy, as well as his specifically educational program, was gradually becoming known in America in the early 1820's. Interest was perhaps more evident in New York, where a Society for Promoting Communities published selections from Owen's writings in 1822 in a pamphlet entitled *An Essay on Common Wealths*. But there is good reason to believe that his ideas had an even deeper and more widespread influence in Philadelphia, where articles from his pen had been reprinted

in the *Aurora* as far back as 1818. By 1823, in any case, communitarian doctrines were occasioning discussion among some of the members of the Academy of Natural Sciences, of which Maclure, though in Europe, was president.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA, 25 MARCH 1824

. . . The other day I went to the Academy of Natural Sciences. Mr. [Thomas] Say read to me the letter you wrote dated 30th November in which you do not approve the community of wealth. I inquired about the project, and laughed much when asking how many they were to form such society. He answered that first they were a great number but now they remain but 2 or 3, that the others under different pretexts declined of joining the society. After some pleasant remarks I told they would never put such project in execution if they cannot have some ladies among them. . . .

This letter reached Maclure in London. Events in Spain had proved disastrous to his school. The Congress of Verona in October 1822 had authorized French intervention in Spain against the liberal revolution of 1820, and French troops had crossed the frontier on 7 April 1823. In a letter of 22 June Madame Fretageot asked Maclure, "What do the French against the freedom of the Spaniards?" Events provided the answer. By October reaction in Spain was in full swing, and Maclure fled the country, forced to abandon not only the plan but even the property of his school. In the spring of 1824 he proceeded to the British Isles and was immediately struck with the ferment of new ideas that he found there, contrasting so sharply with the triumphant obscurantism of the Continent.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, DUBLIN, IRELAND,
30 JUNE 1824

Before I was drove out of Spain by the folly, stupidity and cruelty of despotism, I wrote you of the probability of my visiting the British dominions once more. . . . Find that the zeal for education is stronger and more extensive than I have found it in any place on either side of the Atlantic. Should the civilisation in Britain be as much improved (for I consider education as the most certain thermometer of all usefull civilisation) in proportion

to the greater advance it had formerly made over this country: I shall not be astonished at the wish Mr. Piquepal had to take all his boys to London and to remain some time. For in no place where I have been have I had the countenance and encouragement that I have experienced here. . . .

From Ireland Maclure crossed to Scotland, spent a few days in July with Robert Owen at New Lanark, and arrived in London with renewed enthusiasm. By this time he was fully committed to a plan for sending Piquepal to Philadelphia to join Madame Fretageot in an enlarged educational experiment there, and he devoted part of his time to assembling the necessary books and instruments for the project.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, LONDON, 25 AUGUST 1824

. . . I am glad I have visited this country once more as I should have had but a very imperfect idea of the state of civilisation had I proceeded from Spain to the United States. I have been in a state of agreeable feelings approaching to extacy ever since I landed, to be an Eye witness of the immense progress made in civilisation in so short a time. 'Tis really astonishing how the animal, possessing the same senses as inlets to knowledge, could have slipped so long in ignorance when capable of learning so much in so short a time as the last 8 or 10 years. In every thing both Physical and Moral the improvement is wonderfull, and that long neglected force, in the form of utility education, is perhaps the most prominent, and will no doubt much facilitate the changes we wish to propagate on your side of the Atlantic. . . .

Infant schools are quite fashionable, patronized by the famils [females], whether as the easiest mode of raizing children by congregating many hundreds together under the inspection of two or three persons in place of occupying the time of 2 or 300, 'tis indifferent (I don't inquire into motives, not being always certain of my owne, but give Credit for effects), which I think is exceedingly advantageous to Society, the learning how early it is possible to teach and even reason with children. . . .

The advancing famils to fill all places of honor and profit that their physical force will permit them to occupy would be the greatest possible improvement in Society. It would be doubling the mental force of the great mass of mankind. It would enlist the other half of the creation in the glorious work of civilisation. It would extend the power of mind not only by the additional

numbers but by the strong stimulant of Rivalship and Competition it would create. The objections you make are all against their education. That as yet has not been on a par with any usefull occupation nor even with common sense. . . . The whole plan must be bottomed on a higher order of famil education. To attempt it with ideas of the old system would be attempting to wash the Blackyman white.

I spent 3 or 4 days, the most pleasant of my life, at New Lanark contemplating the vast improvement in society effected by Mr. Robert Owen's courage and perserverance in spite of an inveterate and malignant opposition. I never saw so many men, women and children with happy & contented countenances, nor so orderly, cheerfull & sober a society without any coercion or physical constraint. It is on a par with the moral experiment in the new jail of Philadelphia, with the advantage of being executed by one philanthropic individual free from the caprice of municipal regulations. All the children are taught from 2 years old and upwards in natural history, geography, statistics &c., and proves that knowledge is not only power but wealth, as Mr. O. makes more twist in his mills than the same number of hands in any other mill, and so superior that it draws a premium in the market. It gives me more courage to undertake my Experimental farming Schools, seeing how he has succeeded against a powerfull combination of both church and state, and considering the field of moral experiment in the United States to be the finest in the Globe.

I go from this to Paris to sell my house, which I am told will sell for 6 or 7 times more than I gave for it, for the Garden to build upon. And as it will be too late to go to the United States before winter, shall spend it most probably in Sicily, and shall take one of Phiquepal's pupils with me as a secretary, which will most probably be Archill [Achille Fretageot] as being from his age and acquirements the best specimen of the success of the system, and shall bring him to you in the Spring polished by the friction that wears morals as well as physics smooth. Think still that I can be of more use to the Schools by being on this side the Atlantic a little longer, as the further civilisation has progressed the more easy it will be to establish my Experimental farming Schools, to which all I have yet done is only a prelude. . . .

On 13 August 1824, shortly after Maclure's visit, Robert Owen had a serious discussion at New Lanark with Richard Flower, who had been commissioned by the Rappites to negotiate the sale of their entire community at Harmonie,

Indiana. Though Owen did not finally make up his mind to purchase the estate for a community of his own until after he saw it in December 1824, his enthusiasm was always so transparent that others could read his intentions before he was sure of them himself. As early as 10 September 1824, accordingly, Maclure was writing confidently to his scientific friend, Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale, that "Mr. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, has just decided to make the United States the field of his future experiments. . . . He has purchased all the lands upon the Wabash, belonging to the Harmonists. . . . His liberal, philanthropic intentions cannot fail to interest all true friends of humanity."¹ On the same day he wrote Madame Fretageot more fully.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, LONDON, 10 SEPTEMBER 1824

DEAR MADAM

I wrote to you a few days ago, and sent them to Liverpool, answering all the letters I have received from you, the last dated in April. Attached so much to climate, and physical enjoyment of health depending on it, I keep lingering in Europe, which no doubt may astonish you, as all the moral amusements could be had on so much superior a stile with you. Tho ever since I landed in Ireland in June last my moral propensities has been more encouraged and flattered by the concordance and union of more enlightened and liberal men than at any time or in any country I have yet visited. For even on your side of the Atlantic, where the sun of science and usefull knowledge has been less obscured by either public or private prejudices, the last time in 1817 when I was at home I did not receive an atom of comfort or encouragement, even in words or theory, much less any aid or assistance. Almost all I knew, or communicated with, either appathetically treated all my schemes with indifference, and not a few of them openly reprobated, as Eutopian and folly, spending my time and money so ridiculously. A great change may have been wrought since in public opinion, I am induced to believe, yet I am not certain but what are called the better orders of the Society here are more liberal than the same rank with you. And the Laborious or productive class are perhaps too ignorant on both sides of the Atlantic to form a right conception of their own real interest.

¹ Published in Silliman's *American Journal of Science*, IX, 161.

Schools for the lower orders are the rage of the day amongst all the sectarian tribe. The society is split into Quakers, Lutherans, Moravians, Methodists &c., all straining every nerve to gain prosolites. And common sense beginning to oppose the conversion of the old, they are all seizing upon the young. Elegantly dressed Visitors fills the infant schools, mostly famils, and caress and encourage the poor children that are congregated in hundreds. The motive may perhaps, in this huge overgrown plan, be the want of occupation, but whatever the motives are, the effects are much for the benefit of society. The children are treated with tenderness and humanized, kept for a great part of the day out of the danger of bad example, and freed from the temptation of immitating the vices and passions of their parents, who begin to be convinced of the advantages by finding their more docile and obedient and more reasonable and correct in all their actions. Example is far before precept. The improvement of the child will conduce to a change in the parent, and civilisation be advanced at both ends.

Mecanical institutions for the information of journeamen and apprentices are spreading. Hundreds of thousands [of] periodical publications, from 1d to 4d per no., are diseminated weekly amongst the working people, containing more Science, Knowledge and Phylosophy than was to be found 50 years ago in the first Scientific Societies.

Mr. Robert Owen of New Lanark is now here and intends making the United States the theatre of his future experiments on the facility of rendering the human species happy, and proving the infinite satisfaction, pleasure and happiness derived from the attempt of such a self approbating work. Nothing on earth can give more satisfaction and pleasure than the certainty of the only man in Europe who has a proper idea of mankind and the use he ought to make of his faculties is going to join the finest and most rational Society on the Globe. Mr. O. means to sail in one of the New York packets from Liverpool the end of this month or beginning of next to make arrangements for one of the most beneficent experiments ever attempted by either public or private, and if it succeeds (which I sincerely wish and hope and think it will, so far as to encourage others in a more advanced state of civilisation to follow his example) will mark an epoch in the history of man that will elevate him far above what he has yet been or perhaps expected to be.

In a trunk that will go in the New York packet from this 1st October to Mr. Robertson, I have sent you a small parcel of books, &c. Not finding anything respecting education that could

advance our practice one Iota, have tryed hard to persuade the makers of Mathematical and Physolophical Instruments to make something plain and strong for Schools, unincumbered with the expense of ornament. In vain. They would not deviate from their antient routin, so we must look else where, as the price of new ones is extravagant. Indeed, money is of no value in the present mania for paper, which the paper mills supply in abundance, also will, if it continues. But I fear they are fast posting to a crisis, when a shilling will go further than a pound now.

I remain your friend

WM MACLURE

Three weeks later Maclure was in Paris, and his first letter from there stated specifically the educational innovations he was anxious to transplant to America—mechanics or workingmen's institutes and infant schools. Though Owen was mentioned again, the letter showed clearly that the idea of joining forces with him had not yet occurred to Maclure.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, PARIS, 1 OCTOBER 1824

. . . There was but two moral improvements I saw in Britain worth the transporting across the Atlantic. The first and most usefull was the mecanic institutions & cheap periodical publications for disseminating usefull knowledge thro the great mass of industrious producers, and thereby giving the greatest quantum of happiness to the greatest number, which is out of your department and I therefore won't trouble you with any details.

The second was the Infant Schools, an establishment that lays the ax to the root of all evil by fixing a solid foundation to the future superstructure of men's moral and physical comforts, more particularly as the benefits are bestowed on the millions, it being as yet too humble to attract the attention of the few rich and in general monopolizers of everything good. It may have produced some advantage to the Laboring Classes before their opponents the priviledged few perceive the consequences. It is likewise a great advantage in our colonial apish propensity that it has originated under the auspices of old mother Britain, and that all the British Ladies who have any ambition to attract consideration patronize and even assist at the lessons given to the young and ragged fry of the as yet totally neglected poor. . . .

Mr. Owen is, I suppose, by the time this reaches you, in the United States, and your friend Dr. Price seems disposed to join him. . . .

Philip M. Price was by this time in England, and his reports of Owen reinforced the favorable opinion that Madame Fretageot had received from Maclure's letters.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
21 OCTOBER 1824

Your two last letters dated 28th of August and 10th of September received. We will have much to say on account of the astonishing progress of sciences in England, specially on what concerns education. But as the matter requires on my side more information, with the help of your own observations, I reserve it for next spring, where I shall have the pleasure to talk with you. . . .

I have received a letter of Dr. Price from Liverpool. He informs me that Mr. Owen is to leave that place the 20th of September for New-York, and that his intention is to visit my school. I shall certainly be very much pleased to talk with a man that I have desired to see since I heard of him. The Dr. tells me exactly what you say yourself on his intention of buying a large tract of land to establish his plan in our side of the Atlantic. It will be a great benefit indeed for this country.

And you, my good friend, you will not be idle! Truly my feelings are so much please, specially that I can act a little part in this great undertaking of human happiness. That I owe to you that this happy situation makes it 1000 times greater. If you was by me in this moment that my pen runs on the paper to express that my tongue would better say, I should be crazy for joy.

I forgot to tell you that Dr. Price had been to New Lanark previous his letter. He is so much enchanted with what he has seen that his letter is full of descriptions very interesting. . . .

If the attraction of Owen's ideas was strong, the charm of his personality was irresistible. Madame Fretageot soon came under the spell. Owen landed in New York on 4 November 1824, reached Philadelphia on the 19th, and called on Madame Fretageot on the 21st. A week later, after Owen's departure for Washington, she described the meeting to Maclure.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
28 NOVEMBER 1824

. . . I have had the visit of Mr. Owen. When he entered in my house I took his hands saying; there is the man I desired so much to converse with! And you are, said he, the woman that

I wish to see. We are old acquaintances and in the mean time he gave me a kiss of friendship that I returned heartily. We talked about one hour and half, but we could not talk freely. I was surrounded by some visitors and our conversation was but on general subjects. He told me he will in his return have a private conversation with me. He thinks it will be in April next.

You have no idea what pleasure I felt when I was talking by the side of a man whose actions and principles are so much in harmony with mine. When he said that children must be taken just when born in order to write in those blank paper but what is correct, I felt an encrease of desire to arrive at that periode of my life where as much by my economy and the help of some friends I shall be able to put in practice that project of taking little babies who will be absolutely mine. Next Spring I will be in company with those two me[n] for whom I have the greatest esteem: You and Him; I will enjoy their conversation. . . .

Though Madame Fretageot linked the two men in her mind, she had not yet thought of combining their two projects. Her letter went on to discuss plans for expanding her school in the place that she had just acquired for it in the country outside Philadelphia—plans that would obviously preclude any migration to New Harmony. When Maclure replied, he, too, revealed no thought of connecting his own project with Owen's, except in so far as one might support the other in fighting the prejudices of existing society.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, PARIS, 13 JANUARY 1825

. . . I am glad to learn that Mr. Owen called on you, and rejoyce most sincerely that in the prospect of his making the United States his theatre of action; in which, as in everything else, I am selfish, considering him as the pioneer of reform. His immense mecanizm will require so broad and commodious a road that our childish plans will follow him without being obstructed by the half the prejudice, superstition & bigotry we should have to fight with unaided by him. But his plans go deep into the sureties both of church and state, and most probably will be violently opposed by the corrupt and hypocrytic bands that live by the plunder of either. . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, PARIS, 31 JANUARY 1825

. . . My letters from Edinburg mention they hear of Mr. Owen's arrival in Britain and intention of returning to the

United States with all his establishment. I'm not disinterested in wishing him every success, as I consider him as a pioneer to every moral improvement. . . . Even partial success, on the great scale of his undertaking a radical reform, will facilitate every species of amelioration and place human happiness upon a broad wellpaved road, on which human existence may run without fear of hindrance toward the hight of perfection their faculties will permit them. . . .

The information that Maclure received from Edinburgh was erroneous; Owen did not leave the United States until 16 July 1825. It was during the early months of 1825, in fact, that he carried on his most successful propaganda. Upon completing arrangements for the purchase of the Rappite property, he left New Harmony on 3 January (after a stay of slightly less than a month), and from then until mid-April he was in the East. Toward the end of January or early in February he visited Philadelphia again.

His plans completed, Owen was able to propagandize even more effectively than before. The results were momentous. He conferred again with Maclure's friends in the Academy of Natural Sciences—Thomas Say and Charles Alexandre Lesueur, the naturalists, Dr. Gerard Troost, the mineralogist, and John Speakman, the former treasurer and librarian of the Academy—and before long they were discussing plans to transfer their scientific work to Owen's community. Madame Fretageot became the most ardent convert of all. Her enthusiasm was quickly communicated to Phiquepal, who had arrived in Philadelphia on 29 December 1824, bringing with him his pupils from France to continue his school under Maclure's patronage. Like the men of science in the Academy, the two Pestalozzian teachers considered together the idea of transferring their activities to New Harmony. While Maclure in Paris was making his own preparations for future work in America, his various friends in Philadelphia were concerting a great new plan for him. This involved nothing less than the merger of all Maclure's educational and scientific enterprises with the great social experiment that Owen was inaugurating in the West.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
11 FEBRUARY 1825

. . . I told you already that I have seen Mr. Owen since he has bought 27000 acres of land at Harmony in Indiana. There he will found a new colony on a plan which has made already a great many proselites. He wishes much to see you, and expect that next April you will converse with him on the subject. He is now at Washington for several weeks. He will visit us before to return to Harmony, and from thence he will return in England to prepare his coming with a part or with all his population.

After all that I know concerning his plan I have no doubt you will change something in your intention about your school. I talked with him on the subject. He said that the more good means are reunited the more the effects are powerful, but whe[n] scattered they do little or no effect. We must, says he, work all at once on a spot where the difficulties are almost removed. Then it is only so that we are able to show what are the effects of a good education. He observed that I would devote 30 years of my life where I now am without being able to conterbalance the evils which surround my pupils. You are even, said he, obliged to appear supporting by your silence the thousand prejudices which shall be allways a barrier against which your best endeavour will fail. That reasoning is exact with my own observations; but I repeat I wait for your arrival before to fix my opinion.

Phiquepal thinks his situation much unpleasant. He is about to begin with his school. He has about 10 or 12 children who are waiting that every thing be ready to receive them. But as he is nearly as much pleased as I am with Mr. Owen he feels as if he was to begin a thing that he will not be able to finish. For my part I do not doubt that if you was here he would not begin his school on this place. I do not speak to him about that, because I am not so much assured that my views or opinions are right. I leave it to you to judge. Your experience, your judgment will help me much in this. But you must make haste. The matter is of some importance and ought to engage you not to loose time. . . .

Doctor Price will be one of the new settlers [at New Harmony]. He will arrive soon with a part of the children of New Lanark. He appears quite decided to devote his life time to education. His last letters are filled up with questions about the method of teaching children. He regrets very much of not having observed more when he was near me, but he says he will devote the time he will be at Philadelphia to improve himself before to proceed to Harmony.

There is already a great many persons of this town making their preparations. Several of them are your acquaintances Doctor Troost, Mr. Say, Mr. Speakman, great many others, who expect you will join them. If anything of that kind is to happen you may depend that I will not say no, for my part. In all cases I think you would do very well to gather as many persons you would judge able to be of some utility in either places and bring them with you. . . . And the best of all, come as quick as possible. It will never be to[o] soon when I will have the pleasure of seeing you. Be convinced of that, my dear friend. I will squeeze your hands with much pleasure. The idea only causes an agitation which shakes my hand. Don't you think so? I would never end if I was to give a description of the pleasure that I expect. I can only say that I remain for ever your most affectionate

M D FRETAGEOT

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
18 FEBRUARY 1825

. . . I received a letter yesterday from Mr. Owen. He is now at Washington and desire to see Mr. Piquetal. He says that he is sorry Piquetal has entered already in some expense for his school, that if you was here he has no doubt you would be of his advice, and it is on that purposs he engages Mr. Phi to go to Washington in order to know exactly what he intends to explain in a letter that he will write to you. Piquetal will go tomorrow. You'll know the result of his visit in an other letter. I will have this one sent by the Packet. I wrote some days ago much concerning Mr. Owen. I need not repeat his success. As I will be informed better on Phi's return, you'll know the whole. . . .

In all cases you would do very well to look for some useful persons, as a man who should be much acquainted with Lithography, a good mecanician, a good Chimist, &c., in fact people who would be useful in the new empire of good sense, as it called by Mr. Owen. If, after being acquainted with all the advantages that are to be met in that new colony for the reform and consequently for the happiness of human race, you decide to join it; the collection would be at your disposal and every thing should be ready. If I was to listen to my opinion I would think that it will meet with yours. . . .

It is necessary to observe that in point of education the most essential is that children be surrounded by persons whose actions and speech be correct, that when it is a mixture of wise and fools the effects are in proportion of the more or less of the mixture.

Then we can determine easily the situation the most convenient for the purposs; it is what said Mr. Owen. My friend, you cannot delay your departure. You are expected for the accomplishing of a great undertaking. You are expected by all your friends among whom I am not the least. Your presence will make a good effect. For my part I cannot express or cannot give a description of the pleasure that I will experience when I will have the happiness of seeing again the one that I have so much desired. . . .

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
[9 AND] 13 MARCH 1825²

I told you in my last that Phiquepal was going to Washington to meet with Mr. Owen. He has been much delighted with that excelent man; and is now convinced that you will join in his plan. Mr. Owen is coming next week to explain me every thing and concert with me on the means to put in execution. He will write to you, on the matter, after having explained me what are his intention. After what Phiquepal has heard at Washington it appears that every man of good sense support him with all their power; here at Philadelphia there is a great number of persons preparing for their departure. I don't mean that they are going immediately but are terminating their business in order to be ready next fall. Mr. Owen's intention was to go directly to Harmony in leaving Washington and be returned in the begining of May, but he had not thought to spend some days here, consequently he will not be returned before June. . . .

Mr. Owen is not arrived yet. I wait him with impatience. He sent me his speach at Washington, February 25th, which is a master piece of eloquence, and appears having made a powerful effect on the auditory. The more I know of that man, of his plan and of his high sense, the more I am convinced that we will join in his undertaking. Do come as soon as possible. Do not forget to gather as many people for the new colony. . . .

I will not seal this before the 13, expecting to see Mr. Owen before to send this letter. To day is the 9th. I am obliged to close this if I will have it going the 15th. . . .

[POSTSCRIPT.] I have not bought the house, neither will I do any thing of that kind before a better reflection. You will fix the all. . . .

² The letter was written on various dates. The second and third quoted paragraphs belong to 9 March, as the text shows; the first had been written earlier. The letter itself was dated at the end 13 March.

Owen's six weeks in Washington in February and March of 1825 were the climax of his American tour. The high points came on 25 February and 7 March, when his *Two Discourses on a New System of Society* were "delivered in the Hall of Representatives at Washington, in the presence of the President of the United States, the President elect, heads of Departments, members of Congress, &c. &c."—as the title pages of the printed reports proclaimed in edition after edition. Fresh from these triumphs, Owen called on Madame Fretageot and Piquepal at their school in Philadelphia on 25 or 26 March. Together they planned a joint letter to Maclure. On the first page Owen wrote his message; Madame Fretageot covered the second and third pages with hers; and Piquepal filled up the sheet.

ROBERT OWEN TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA, 27 MARCH 1825

MADAME FRETAGEOT & MR. PHIQUEPAL'S ACADEMIES
27 March 1825

MY DEAR SIR,

I am surrounded by your friends here & we have had much conversation respecting you & your charitable objects. The result of which is a great desire on the part of all of them to see you here & to have your direction in various important matters which they have before them. In this desire I also join & hope to see you here on my return from the western states in about two months hence, previous to my return to Europe. The parties named above to give you the details of these matters. In the meantime . . . [I] remain

Your affectionate friend

ROBT. OWEN

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA, 28 MARCH 1825

You see, my dear friend, that we have had the delightful pleasure of hearing the best man explaining a plan which is the best calculated for human happiness.

In my last I told you that I did not expect him from Washington on account of his numerous occupations. But you may judge how I was agreeably surprised when I received a letter from him announcing he would be amongst us the 25th and would like to stay 24 hours with us. We prepared at Piquepal[']s every thing for his reception. Dr. Troost was charged to bring him

in a carriage that I had ordered the day before his arrival. When he arrived at Ph's I was not there on account of the rain. Messrs. Say, Speakman and Troust [*sic*] offered to come for me, but he would not permit any of them to carry me there. He came and the pleasure that I felt when he took me in his arms cannot be equalled only by the one I will experience when I will have the happiness of taking your hands in mine! It is necessary that I get some calm if I will be able to enter in the details that have remained my business to explain.

The first society will be founded on the following principles. Those who will be received the first shall be choosen amongst the best principled being, in order to form by their example those who afterwards will be received indiscriminately. The town already built will be allowed to them for their residence, and [they] will remain there untill the community will allow them to take place in the new town, *which* plan would be to[o] long to detail. The first settlers by their wealth, their industry will establish all that is proper to accumulate prosperity, union, peace and consequently, happiness. The children's education is what will occupy the most, because from them depend the future prosperity not only of the community but of all. Those who will be witnesses of such happy result will of course be convinced that the present state of society is founded on such principles that it is quite impossible to be happy according its rules. This is but an imperfect sketch, but you'll be soon here; and not doubt remain in my mind that you'll join the plan as soon as you'll be informed of it as we are.

When Mr. Owen left us yesterday he engaged us to pass the evening at Mr. Speakman, who was to collect there about 20 or 30 persons of every description who where all desirous to express their opinion on different subject. We went there at six in the evening, P. and I, and if it had been possible to encrease our esteem for that excellent man, indeed it would have been the case.

You have no idea of his patience, calmness, benevolence, and kindness towards his fellow creatures even the most despicable. His answers are clear, precise. Every one understand them perfectly well. Questioned on religion, he was quite candid in his answer and yet did not hurt the feeling of the most bigotted. He shewed them the errors of it by their result, and pursuing with the same precision he convinced them that a total reverse was to be obtained in the human mind to acquire that peace so necessary to happiness. I would not finish if I was to relate all. I have heard and seen but what is positive in my mind as well as in the mind of all those who have had the same opportunity. It is that

a great change is to take place on this part of our hemisphere. When we left him he told us that we will soon rejoin and said he had no doubt you will give your approbation. But I repeat, my dear friend, there would be no pleasure any where if you was not to participate of it. I hope you will not read this in France. It s[e]ems to me that you are making your trunks and that I will soon enjoy the pleasure of seeing you.

March 28th 1825

M. D. FRETAGEOT

Phiquepal joins to me with the same sentiment.

WILLIAM S. PHIQUEPAL TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
28 MARCH 1825

DEAR SIR

You see by the letter of Madme. Fretageot and that of Mr. Owen that we have had the pleasure of spending some time with that excellent man. I do not think there is any body in the world better calculated to put into execution his plan ; it is to say, to realize all that has been wished for by all the good and thinking men of all ages and countries.

One thing only has been wanting to us these two days past ; it is to have you with him. Come then as soon as you can. Mr. O. intends to be here at the end of May and spend a fortnight with us, with the expectation to meet you here. A great deal may be expected from that reunion for the happiness of mankind. Say and Lesueur do not seem less anxious for your arrival. Mr. Ow's benevolence seems to overcome . . . difficulties that were to be expected from the prejudices of all kind that are so numerous even on this part of the world. So powerfull is truth when uttered with kindness.

I remain very sincerely yours

28th March

WM. S. PHIQUEPAL

Maclure replied to Madame Fretageot and to Phiquepal on 9 and 14 May 1825, according to the notation he made on this tripartite letter. Unfortunately none of Maclure's letters from Paris later than 26 February have been preserved, and at that time he had not received the report even of Owen's second visit to Madame Fretageot in late January or early February. The only indication of his general attitude toward Owen, after receiving the bombardment of letters from his American friends, was a communication he sent to Benjamin Silliman from Paris.

MACLURE TO SILLIMAN, PARIS, 2 MAY 1825³

. . . It is fortunate that Mr. Owen has pitched upon a location, where prejudices will not have their force of combination to obstruct improvement: that is but too lamentably common in communities where there is a more dense population; for it would be exceedingly mortifying if our industrious producers of public and private wealth, should reject so great a benefit as the introduction of his plans must be to every kind of labour, and our disgrace and humiliation would be much aggravated, if the two establishments now forming in Britain were to succeed, and the attempt now making in America were to fail. . . .

Labour in some shape or other is the cause of all production; of course all the revenue of every society is created by those that work. The annual production of Great Britain, is estimated at £54 sterling for every man, woman, and child; but only £11 sterling per annum, falls to the share of those who produce it; viz. about $1/5$: the other $4/5$ go for tithes, taxes, masters, &c. &c. Such an order of things is neither reasonable nor just, and to rectify it as far as possible, by laying the axe to the root of the evil, taking away the temptation to avarice, cheating, and crime, is the object of the new system. It proposes to remedy the evil, by enabling the industrious producer to retain a far greater proportion of the produce of his labour, and removing the necessity of his working more than a few hours in the day, to obtain every necessary comfort, leaving the rest of his time for moral improvement and recreation. . . .

The only objection urged by the enemies of the system is, that it is impossible! the eternal cry against every thing new; for, say they, how can you eradicate the passions of men?—There is no intention of rooting them out; but the firm resolution is taken of not planting the violent antisocial passions, all of which are nourished, strengthened, and fortified from the cradle to the grave, by the unjust and cruel treatment of most of the rulers of mankind. The consequences of the new system to mankind will be so beneficial to the world, that it is at least worth a fair and impartial trial. . . .

To Madame Fretageot her patron's messages from Europe were tantalizing. His praise of Owen was warm and ample enough, but he failed to answer the question uppermost in her mind—whether he would transfer his enterprises to New

³ Printed in *American Journal of Science*, X, 165-67.

Harmony. Knowing that Maclure would sail for America early in June, she wrote him on the 10th of that month and sent the letter to New York to await his arrival. He landed on 9 July 1825 and on the 12th she wrote him two additional letters, the first when she read of his debarkation in the newspapers, the second when she received a friendly but noncommittal note he had written her on the 10th. In the last of her letters, postmarked 13 July, she urged again the desirability of making common cause with Owen.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA, 12 JULY 1825

. . . Mr. Owen has advanced the progress of good sense more within these last six months than it would have been in hundred years with the common steps of progressive knowledge. I wish you had time enough to understand his plan, because I know you will recognise in it all the feelings that have engaged all your attention these 20 last years in favour of humankind. I write to him in order to engage him to accompany you here. He will find a vessel going the 20th that is not a great difference for his arrival in England. Then you would have time plenty to investigate the matter thoroughly the subject. For my part I would like it very much.

Till now, what you say about it did not convince me, because you was not informed of it. My desire in this is not to see you to agree with my opinion but to help me to investigate the subject fully. It suits me so perfectly that I am not only desirous to see its progress and its execution, but to add my exertions to those of this benevolent man. Then, my excellent friend, it is you who will direct me in all this. I said so to Mr. Owen. He knows that I am devoted to your opinion by the esteem that you have inspired me, and I may add that I have not such confidence in my wisdom as to engage myself in such thing without the advice of my friend. But also you must expect that I will support my opinion with all the advantage that would give the possibility of knowing the plan more than you. It is why I engage Mr. Owen to stay with you so long as possible.

We have fixed your appartement at Piquepal's. There I shall enjoy the pleasure of your presence. You will be better than in town, where the heat is so intense that the inhabitants fly to the country.

Let me know when you'll leave New York because I will be in town to receive you at the steam-boat.

Fortunately for the historian, Maclure remained in New York long enough to reply to this letter. It was the last chance he had to define his position on Owen's project before coming face to face with the deferential but resolute enthusiast in Philadelphia.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW YORK, 15 JULY 1825

DEAR MADAM

Your letter of the 12 July received. When the imagination is exalted so as to leave room only for one favorite Idea in the mind, it approaches to insanity. All that Mr. Owen can possibly say about his plan cannot add one iota to the favorable opinion I have always had of the immense benefit that must accrue to humanity by the putting it into practice. But there is two things to be considered and coolly examined. The first is the reasonableness of the plan and the goodness and solidity of the theory, in which I perfectly agree with Mr. Owen and all his most enthousiastical supporters. The second is the most difficult to annalise as the means of putting in practise, because the materials he has to work upon are stubborn, crooked and too often bent in an opposite direction from their owne most evident interests.

At one time I had the vanity to suppose that individual exertion could possibly effect some little reformation in men, thrust into and formed by the iron mould of habit, carefully and ingeniously wrought by all the talents and cunning of the industrious, hypocritical priests, aided by the civil and political tyrants for thousands of years. Taking warning from the failure of the vast number who in every age have unsuccessfully attempted it, indolence prompted me to try the little means in my power on children. And not withstanding the immense diffusion of knowledge within the last 30 years, I'm still affraid that the education of the children must be the chief support and foundation of the system. Even tho the Old should prove refractory they will be certain of the Young. But time will be requisite. And it's most probable that during that time both you and Piquéal can be more usefully employed, both for yourselves and others, than joining Mr. O[wen] in the commencement of his most arduous undertaking.

Since writing the above I have just seen Mr. Owen for a few minutes, who embarks for England in the Canada toomorrow morning and cannot give much of his time, but he will call this evening and we will have more conversation. I'm highly delighted, and as much astonish, at his success. The revolution in the public

mind must be beyond the most enthusiastic conception. Every one that he has met approves of his plans and even the priests seems to him to favor them.

I hope it will be realized and have no doubt that much will be accomplished for the good of mankind, but I must give you the specimen of what I found here the few days I have been. Some weeks before I left Paris I saw a letter from Boston describing a Girls' School on the joint Pestalozzi & Lancaster Systems . . . incorporated, a large house built for it, and three of the principle men in Boston officers & directors, whose names I believe I mentioned to you but have now forgot both them and the tittle of the school. Wishing to send them a copy of Gardners *Dictionary* & Michauds *Silva*,⁴ as few or no occasions offer to send anything to the north from Philadelphia (example the *Journal of Physic* for the Geological Society not yet arrived), I have been making inquiry at some hundreds of Bostonians here for this three days in vain. No one ever heard of such a school, and scarce any of them had the patience to hear of a new fangled School which the rage of the day, as they said, was constantly inventing. Make money has been the only object of most I have met with since I landed. Wild speculations and golden dreams entirely occupies the upper stories [?] of most of the Bipedes. If I was to take the nation from the sample I have seen, I should be apt to think Mr. O[wen] had taken silence for consent, when it was only indifference bordering on contempt. . . . Mr. Owen keeps a stedy lookout on his object, but did not see or hear of any such school at Boston. All this for yourself. Let us look at things and tho we keep our Ears always open have no great dependence on what we hear. I loose every day some of the little faith I had in my hearing.

I shall embark with your two nephews and my servant to-morrow morning in the steamboat for Phila[delphi]a, and shall arrive in the Evening. And in spite of the mania I see here, am much gratified by the general improvement in Society, and think Mr. O[wen] may advance more rapidly than I had expected, but still the experiment is to be tryed. But we shall talk more about it.

I remain yours sincerely

WM MACLURE

⁴ In his letter to Silliman of 2 May 1825, already quoted in part, Maclure wrote: "Finding that [François André] Michaux intended to sell his whole edition of the [North] American Sylva with coloured plates, and thinking it a useful book, that we ought to have in the United States, I bought the whole edition with the 156 Copper-plates, which I shall bring with me, and shall send a copy to the American Geological Society and give others to

Talk more about it they did. But the spoken word vanishes with the saying. With the need for correspondence ended, the historical record becomes fragmentary, and the final decision is hard to date. The arguments we know, for they had already been rehearsed. And we know that Madame Fretageot prevailed, for in the end Maclure with all his scientific and educational associates joined Owen at New Harmony. The details of the story can only be pieced together from scattered bits of chronology.

On 19 August 1825, a month after reaching Philadelphia, Maclure wrote for Silliman's *American Journal of Science* a description of the schools of Madame Fretageot and Phiquepal, but dropped no hint that they might be moved from Philadelphia.⁵ A week later Maclure was gone from Philadelphia, and the letter he wrote Madame Fretageot on 28 August discussed "Mr. O[wen]'s plans, which is intended to consolidate independence and render commerce as well as communication unnecessary as a means of physical support, and only used as a passtime and moral amusement." But he gave no indication that he intended himself to go to New Harmony with him. A letter from Madame Fretageot on the same day mentioned this possibility, but ambiguously.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, PHILADELPHIA,
28 AUGUST 1825

. . . Samuel Wood met Phiquepal last week at Philadelphia and told that he had heard you was going to Harmony, taking with you, among several others, he and Mrs. Fretageot, that the town was talking much on that migration. Ph. told, he knew nothing about it, and, as people is much inclined talking without knowing what they say, the best was not to take notice of it. . . .

some of the Agricultural Societies." The work was later reprinted at New Harmony; see below, p. 407.

⁵ Maclure, "An Epitome of the Improved Pestalozzian System of Education as Practised by William Phiquepal and Madam Fretageot," in *American Journal of Science*, X, 145-51. The dated portion of the article was a letter from Maclure printed at the end, p. 151. The epitome itself had been written somewhat earlier.

Robert Owen was out of the country for three and a half months, from 16 July until 6 November 1825, and this may account for Maclure's continued indecision. Within a week of his return, however, Owen was in Philadelphia, conferring with Maclure, Madame Fretageot, Say, Speakman, and Dr. Price, and he made a second trip there at the end of the month. Final arrangements for Maclure and his colleagues to join the New Harmony community must have been completed during these visits, for on 8 December 1825 Owen, Maclure, Madame Fretageot, Phiquepal, Say, Lesueur, Dr. Price, R. D. Owen, and some thirty others were at Pittsburgh ready to embark on the keelboat "Philanthropist" for the voyage down the Ohio River to New Harmony. The vessel was caught in the ice near Beaver, and Owen left the party to continue by stage to New Harmony, where he arrived on 12 January. Meanwhile, on 9 January, the "Philanthropist" was finally cut loose, and on the 23d this "Boatload of Knowledge" reached Mount Vernon, Indiana. The journey to New Harmony was completed by wagon on 26 January 1826. The educational and scientific projects of Maclure and the social projects of Owen were now joined in what was to prove a somewhat uneasy partnership.

III. THE NEW HARMONY KALEIDOSCOPE

January-September 1826

WHEN MACLURE and his party arrived in New Harmony on 26 January 1826, the community was in the throes of reorganization. On the previous day its members had resolved themselves into a convention to frame a new and permanent constitution for the long-heralded New Harmony Community of Equality, replacing the Preliminary Society set up nine months before. This labor of reorganization Maclure had no intention of sharing. He was excused from serving on the committee to draft the new constitution, and he devoted himself to the establishment of his school. So rapidly did the various plans go forward on paper that the *New-Harmony Gazette* was able to publish in its issue of 15 February 1826 not only the constitution of the New Harmony Community of Equality (adopted on the 5th) but also two pages of material on Maclure's educational plans. Viewing these two achievements, the editor of the *Gazette* envisaged the time, fast approaching, when "the earth would become a garden of Eden, and man, surrounded by such associates, would indeed find himself in Paradise."¹

Never did prophet hit wider of the mark. The convention was not yet over when the community split into factions; the very same issue of the *Gazette* that published the new constitution carried also the news of the first schism. Thereafter reorganization followed reorganization in never-ending sequence until, a year later, the last bent wire snapped, and the New Harmony community came to an end. Maclure's hope of continuing quietly with his schools was an illusion quickly shattered. For fifteen months after his arrival in New Harmony he was entangled, willy-nilly, in affairs that he

¹ *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 166 (15 Feb. 1826). On pp. 161-63 the new constitution was published; on pp. 166-67, the educational plans. Part of the latter consisted of a reprint of the article in Silliman's *Journal*, mentioned above, p. 324, n. 5. Maclure was as yet so little known in the community that the *Gazette* spelled his name M'Clure.

thought were to have been Owen's alone. To comprehend the letters he wrote during this period one must be able to follow the kaleidoscopic changes that were occurring in the organization of the communities at New Harmony. This is far from easy.

Owen had organized the Preliminary Society in April and May 1825 as "a halfway house . . . in which we shall remain, only until we can change our old garments, and fully prepare ourselves for the new state of existence, into which we hope to enter."² According to the original plan this probationary period was to have lasted from two to three years. Owen had argued with eloquence the necessity for this delay, but the person he had found hardest to convince was himself.

In subsequent months Owen drank deeply of the enthusiasm he himself had distilled and suffered a kind of autointoxication. In London in the summer of 1825 he read the *Lecture on Human Happiness* that John Gray had published in his absence, and he heard much of the Orbiston Community near Glasgow which Abram Combe had begun to erect in March 1825. As he neared the United States again in October 1825 his enthusiasm bubbled over in a letter written at sea, which he addressed to Americans generally. A few weeks later, in Philadelphia, he triumphed over the misgivings of Maclure and drew the whole Philadelphia group westward with him. Thus encouraged, he found no difficulty in convincing himself that the apocalyptic trumpets were already sounding, that further delay would be a plain dereliction of duty. He came to believe, it is true, that he had launched the Community of Equality only after carefully examining the state of affairs at New Harmony and soberly evaluating the experience of preceding months. This was sheer self-delusion. On the very evening of his return, 12 January 1826, he began a series of enthusiastic discourses in New Harmony Hall, and within less than two weeks of his arrival the reorganization was under way.

Thirteen days of propaganda had brought the convention into being; twelve days were spent in drafting the new consti-

² Robert Owen, "Address . . . on Wednesday, the 27th of April, 1825, in the Hall of New-Harmony," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 2 (1 Oct. 1825).

tution. Fourteen days sufficed to prove it completely unworkable. On 19 February 1826 the new community voted "to request the aid of MR. OWEN for one year, in conducting and superintending the concerns of the Community, in conformity with the principles of the Constitution."³ The last phrase was a euphemism. Everyone understood that the Constitution was already "as nothing."⁴ Four clearly defined factions were in existence, reflecting precisely those differences in "habits, condition and sentiments" which Owen had trusted the Preliminary Society to eradicate.

One group had conscientious scruples against uniting permanently with members they considered atheists. They were granted 1300 acres of land two miles from town to organize a separate Community No. 2, which they named Macluria—not in recognition of any support from Maclure but perhaps on the erroneous assumption that his religious beliefs were more orthodox than Owen's.

Another faction seems to have had no other basis than the national self-consciousness of an immigrant group. A number of English farmers formed a Community No. 3 on 1400 acres of Owen's land a mile from the center of New Harmony. Intoxicated by the spirit of innovation, they adopted a bizarre system of geographical nomenclature invented by one of their members, and called their community Feiba-Peveli.

Both the new communities were organized in March 1826. By mid-April nine log houses at Macluria were housing eighty persons, and at least one structure was going up at Feiba-Peveli. Throughout the summer and fall—the period during which Maclure wrote the letters included in the present chapter—both colonies were living under their own constitutions, unaffected by the incessant reorganization of the parent community.

In the town of New Harmony itself resided the members of the two remaining factions. A majority clung with vaguely defined allegiance to the new and abortive constitution, and

³ *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 175 (22 Feb. 1826).

⁴ Thomas Pears to Benjamin Bakewell, New Harmony, 4 March 1826, in *Pears Papers*, p. 67.

were sometimes called Constitutionalists. This miscellaneous group, too divided in interest to be properly called a faction, formed the population upon which Owen was to try his successive experiments during the year that followed.

Over against this heterogeneous mass stood a compact group primarily interested in the educational and scientific aims of the New Harmony experiment—the Literati, so their opponents called them.⁵ This was the group, of course, in which Maclure was interested, but it does not appear that he was the prime mover in their first schismatic efforts. Rather it was Owen's two sons, Robert Dale and William, who took the leadership at first, along with Robert L. Jennings and perhaps Madame Fretageot. As early as the middle of February, when the new constitution was suspended, they planned a separate community within the town of New Harmony, which would use some of the buildings—the best ones, their opponents said—for educational purposes. Robert Owen refused to countenance the proposal, and their abortive organization collapsed, though the idea lived on.

Owen's solution to the problem of organizing a community among the population of the town itself was to select a "nucleus" of twenty-four persons who would contract with him for the land and then admit additional members and probationers. The "nucleus" was appointed early in March 1826, and for a couple of months there was a flurry of activity under the new auspices. "Meetings were held every evening; and often several

⁵ The term used by Thomas Pears. *Ibid.* The names applied by Pears to the four factions may have been used by him alone, but it is not correct to say, as does his editor, that "the population was not divided along these lines, nor were these factions, as described [by Pears], formed into separate communities." Actually Pears's "Conscientious" were the founders of Macluria, his "English Society" the founders of Feiba-Peveli, his "Literati" the founders of the Education Society, and his "Constitutionalists" the remainder. The proposal for a separate Education Society aroused great opposition when first put forward. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72, 75, 78; Paul Brown, *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1827), pp. 14, 18-19. Among the teachers, Joseph Neef, who arrived 20 March 1826, was the principal (perhaps the only) opponent of the plan. See his "Letter to Robert Owen," dated 13 May 1827, *ibid.*, p. 114.

meetings in a day. The immigration to the place was great; and the nucleus often met to receive members, and to deliberate upon measures." A new style of dress was introduced—for men, pantaloons tied at the ankle; for women, what the next generation was to call the Bloomer costume. And, to the disgust of the puritanical Paul Brown, "the dancing and the instrumental music engrossed more of the energy of speculation than the most important concerns. There must be a regular ball once a week, and a concert once a week."⁶ In spite of continuing discontent, New Harmony came closest to realizing the promise of its name in March and April of 1826. And Maclure enjoyed a brief period of optimistic and uninterrupted planning.

MACLURE TO SILLIMAN, NEW HARMONY, 16 MARCH 1826⁷

. . . We have been here scarcely two months, making a few experiments of the effects of the new system upon our species. From the obstinacy of old deep rooted habits, not much can be expected from theorizing for so short a time upon subjects, with respect to which, as regards nine tenths of mankind, only practice can produce conviction. Still every thing considered, (both the materials and opportunities,) we have succeeded better than we had any reason to expect. . . .

⁶ Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 16, 18. From 15 to 21 April 1826 Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, was a visitor at New Harmony, and the fullest account of community life during this period is that contained in his *Travels*, translated in 1828 and conveniently reprinted in Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, pp. 418-37. The Duke mentions Madame Fretageot several times by name (pp. 432-36), and also gives a description of a certain "Madam F——, a native of St. Petersburg," who "married an American merchant, settled there, and had the misfortune to lose her husband three days after marriage" (p. 425). This description has sometimes been mistakenly attached to Madame Fretageot. Actually Madam F—— was the Mrs. Fisher who started out on the "boatload of knowledge," but completed the trip by land in Owen's company. See Donald Macdonald, *Diaries*, p. 334, and "Pelham Letters," p. 405. She was apparently connected by her marriage with the family of Dr. Philip M. Price. See Donald Macdonald, *Diaries*, p. 308, and Karl Bernhard, p. 425. Dr. Price's eldest brother William married a Hannah Fisher, whose brother may possibly have been the short-lived spouse of Madam F——. See [Eli K. Price], *Centennial Meeting of the Descendants of Philip and Rachel Price* (Philadelphia, 1864), pp. 35, 37-38, 82.

⁷ Maclure, "Notice of Mr. Owen's Establishment, in Indiana," in *American Journal of Science*, XI, 189-92.

The obstinate prejudices of men against making any useful or radical change . . . has, for a long time, prevented me from putting in practice, what I would have called experimental farming schools, for the education of the children of the productive classes : and this sociable system of Mr. Owen, offering all the means and materials for effecting the same reform amongst the same useful class, I have joined him in all his undertakings, on this side of the Atlantic, and we intend to carry them into execution, as far as a considerable capital will permit. Already part of the boys' school is so far organized that they make shoes for themselves, and will soon do it for the whole community. They will likewise have work-shops for tailors, carpenters, weavers, &c. in the school, all of which trades will be alternately practiced, by way of recreation from their mental labour of Arithmetic, Mathematics, Natural History, &c. as a useful substitute for gymnastics ; to which will be added agriculture and gardening. We have nearly 400 children belonging to the society, besides strangers from the different parts of the Union. The girls are taught the same things as the boys, by Madam Fretageot, and are classed, alternately, to work in the cotton and woollen mills, and in washing, cooking, &c. (for no servants are permitted in the society, and every one must do something for himself,) not working above half a day on any one kind of labour, thereby alleviating the fatigue by variety. . . .

My experience does not permit me to doubt, that children, under proper management, can feed and clothe themselves by the practice of the best and most useful part of their instruction ; and in place of being a burthen, they would be a help to all connected with them.

The schools here will be on such a scale, as to location, men of talent, and perfection of machinery, as to constitute them the first in the Union, for every species of useful knowledge. . . .

All children, as well as men, if not occupied in doing good, will most probably be doing harm, either to themselves or others. . . . None of our species can be too long kept at work ; there is nothing more easy than by habit to turn all useful and necessary occupations into an amusement, when life itself would become a pastime.

At their festivities in April 1826 the New Harmonites invented a cotillion which they called the "New Social System." The reality they symbolized was hardly less fleeting than the steps they danced. Whatever there had been of harmony had vanished by May. For the third time in five months Owen was faced with the necessity of reorganizing the community.

At this juncture William Maclure entered the discussion with a communication to the *Gazette* recommending the division of New Harmony according to the occupations of its members.

MACLURE TO THE "NEW HARMONY GAZETTE," 17 MAY 1826⁸

. . . The thing most wanted is, to protect the industrious, honest members against the unpleasant, mortifying sensation of laboring for others that are either unable or unwilling to work their proportion necessary to keep up the expenditure of the society, and pay their debts. To accomplish this object it has been tried, by individual reports of production, and making public the number of hours each was occupied in a day; the practice of which was rather invidious, and difficult impartially to be executed; and even if it were possible to get correct returns, it was liable to injustice; as one willing workman might do more in an hour than another without the same good will or industry, would do in four.

It is perhaps better to divide the community into departments and occupations, allowing each to regulate the quantum that every individual in the department or occupation ought to perform, only fixing the aggregate quantity that the department or occupation ought to produce, as their share of the amount of property necessary to enable the society to fulfil their engagements. . . .

If, in consequence of the difficulties of ascertaining, or the want of friendly feelings or confidence in each other, none of the above methods were practicable, in the last resort every herring must hang by its own head, and a division should be made into different communities, as at No. 2 and 3 [Macluria and Feiba-Peveli], and each department or occupation should engage to pay for the part of the property they take for their use. . . .

This might not be so complete or extensive an example of cooperative superiority, but would perhaps be much better than running the risk of total failure, by attempting too much with a population aggregated hastily; . . . it would reduce the sum (that each would be bound for the whole in one community) to an amount more within the compass of their previous habits of calculation, and bring the knowledge of each other within the limits of confidence and fellow feeling.

A population must have been some time accustomed to the social system, to be convinced that those who work with their

⁸ Volume I, p. 268. Signed M., the initial Maclure appended to all his contributions.

heads, or mental labor, are as productive as those who work with their hands; and it is equally difficult to persuade those who are not completely purged of their individual feelings of the old order of society, to reconcile a mechanic, at one and a half, or two dollars a day, to put himself on an equality with an agriculturist at one fourth of a dollar a day. These evident bars to cooperative union and equality ought to be removed, or so reduced by internal regulations and divisions, as to lessen the obstruction . . . to . . . practical union. . . .

Nor does the dividing them [the present population of this place] into twenty or thirty associations bring them one iota nearer the individual system, or remove them from the social; as no occupation can have any object to compete with another, while the contract, which alone is the foundation of all their property, positively prohibits any individual participation in the surplus profits. . . .

This division into departments and occupations is only made to accomplish impartial equalization of labor, and reduce the responsibility of payments within the sphere of the previous habits of calculation—all the operations of the schools, music, dancing, sociable intercourse, and all public or private amusements remain upon the same footing of equal rights and duties as if the community had not been so divided.

Owen was apparently convinced by this reasoning, for on 28 May 1826 he asked the community to decide between the two alternatives Maclure had suggested. According to Paul Brown "two plans were proposed by Mr. Owen—the first was, to have *one* community with different departments of occupations, having a set of officers to each, as clerks, superintendents, &c. The other, to have four separate societies."⁹ The latter arrangement was voted, and before long three new societies (for the number had been immediately reduced by combination) were in process of formation—an Education Society, an Agricultural and Pastoral Society, and a Mechanic and Manufacturing Society.

The Education Society was the easiest to set going, for

⁹ Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 19. The *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 294-95 (7 June 1826), reported the first part of this meeting and promised to publish in the future the new regulations voted at the end, but it never fulfilled this promise.

Maclure's educational objectives were clear, the teachers and men of science he had brought to New Harmony were a relatively homogeneous group, and his financial resources were adequate. Within ten days a lease was drawn up between Owen and Maclure, by which the former turned over to the Education Society some 900 acres of land and a number of the New Harmony buildings, including the Hall (the brick church of the Rappites), the Church or Steeple House (the older wooden church of the Rappites), the former mansion of Father Rapp (rechristened Community House No. 5), House No. 2, where the boarding school was located, and the granary or fort.

Though Owen and Maclure had each thrown his resources freely into the venture at New Harmony, the lease executed in May or June 1826 was apparently the first formal agreement they had made concerning their respective financial responsibilities. Even so, no real meeting of the minds occurred when it was signed. Owen believed that he and Maclure were already united in a full partnership and that the lease was a mere incident in their larger relationship. Maclure, on the other hand, emphatically denied that he was a partner of Owen's, and consistently maintained thereafter that the lease defined his total obligation, except for an understanding, which he freely acknowledged, that made him liable for half of Owen's losses at New Harmony up to a maximum of \$10,000—a "forfeiture" he called it in his letters.

The lease was not recorded and the original is no longer extant, but its terms become clear in the correspondence that follows. Maclure agreed to pay Owen a total of \$49,000 on behalf of the Education Society.¹⁰ He advanced \$24,500 immediately, and turned over an additional \$10,000 in July

¹⁰ See Maclure's letter of 3 Jan. 1827, below, which agrees with Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 27. In his letter of 20 June 1826, however, Maclure uses the figure \$54,000. When he speaks of ultimately enabling the School Society to pay Owen a total of \$60,000 (as he does in his letters of 9 and 20 June, and 11 Aug. 1826, and in both letters of 21 Aug. 1826), Maclure probably includes the "forfeiture" of \$10,000 (mentioned in 9 July, 11 Aug. 1826, and both letters of 21 Aug. 1826).

or August.¹¹ By January 1827 he had paid a total of \$38,000,¹² though the payments had originally been scheduled over a period of seven years.¹³

Owen himself had made a down payment of \$95,000 to the Rappites for the entire New Harmony property,¹⁴ and was obligated to pay two additional installments of \$20,000 apiece on the first of May in 1827 and 1828.¹⁵ As the sequel will show, Maclure actually made these payments to Rapp in April 1827, and turned over an additional \$5,000 to Owen.¹⁶ This apparently brought Maclure's total investment at New Harmony to \$82,000, exclusive of the sums he put into books, apparatus, and specimens, and into the salaries of his associates.

Owen's total investment at New Harmony was probably about \$150,000, including the down payment of \$95,000 on the land and approximately \$55,000 that came out of his own pocket for supplies and other personal property furnished to the inhabitants of the communities. The latter sum was a total loss to Owen,¹⁷ but on the real estate he apparently broke even,

¹¹ Maclure, 9 July, and 30 Aug. 1826, below. This agrees substantially with Paul Brown's statement that Owen "had above 30,000 dollars paid down to him by M'Clure." *Twelve Months*, p. 30.

¹² Maclure, 3 Jan. 1827, below.

¹³ *Ibid.*, which agrees with Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 27.

¹⁴ Maclure, 20 June 1826, below; Robert Owen to William Allen, 21 April 1825, as cited by Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen*, p. 29, n. 13.

¹⁵ Robert Owen, "Address . . . in the City of Philadelphia, on . . . June 27, 1827," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 353 (15 Aug. 1827); Maclure, 20 June, and 9 July 1826, below. The deed from Frederick Rapp to Owen, dated 10 Dec. 1825 and recorded 18 Jan. 1826, states the consideration as \$125,000. Posey County, Indiana, "Deeds," liber D, p. 206. Leopold, *loc. cit.*, cites other documents, which yield the same figures. Apparently \$95,000 was for the real property and \$40,000 for the personal property left by the Rappites. See Owen, "Address . . . June 27, 1827," *loc. cit.*; Maclure, 9 June 1826, below.

¹⁶ See p. 393 below. As shown there, n. 21, Rapp apparently allowed him a discount of \$1,000 for the advance payment.

¹⁷ During 1825 he subsidized the Preliminary Society for its living expenses to the extent of at least \$30,000, as even his bitter critic Paul Brown admitted. *Twelve Months*, pp. 23-24. In January 1826 he brought with him \$15,000 worth of goods for the store, and these were gone by November. See Maclure, 20 June, and 28 Nov. 1826, below. In addition he probably

for his holdings in 1832 were valued at approximately \$95,000,¹⁸ the very sum he had paid the Rappites.

It was this continual outpouring of funds by his colleague that worried Maclure and that finally destroyed all his faith in Owen's practical good sense. On 8 June 1826, however, when Maclure left New Harmony for a four-months' trip through Ohio and Kentucky, he did so in the confident belief that he had put his financial relations with Owen on a clear-cut basis, that his plans for the schools were going forward in harmony with the rest of the community experiment, and that the two new societies which he had proposed and which were

expended for supplies the \$38,000 he received from Maclure in 1826. See Maclure, 3 Jan., and 8 Feb. 1827, below. In the end, however, this was Maclure's loss, not Owen's, for the sum was not regarded as part of the consideration for the land that was ultimately deeded to Maclure. See p. 393, n. 21, below. A very conservative estimate of Owen's losses at New Harmony in 1827 and thereafter would be \$10,000. He stopped subsidizing the living expenses of the community early in 1827, it is true, but he lost much in litigation. In one case, *James Purdon v. Robert Owen*, for example, he was ordered to pay \$3,631.84. Posey County Circuit Court, "Complete Record," liber B, pp. 501-9 (February term, 1828); and there were many others. It is probable that the \$4,500 he borrowed on 30 April 1828 and later repaid went for losses at New Harmony. Pp. 393-94, n. 22, below. My estimate of a total investment of \$150,000 by Owen, of which \$55,000 was completely lost, should be compared with his son's statement, half a century later, that Owen "expended in the purchase of the Harmony property, real and personal, in paying the debts of the community during the year of its existence, and in meeting his ultimate losses the next year by swindlers, upwards of two hundred thousand dollars." Robert Dale Owen, *Twenty-Seven Years of Autobiography. Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), pp. 292-93. The extant evidence is too fragmentary to prove Robert Dale Owen's estimate excessive, but I believe it is. It is almost certainly so if the word "expended" signifies "totally lost" rather than "invested."

¹⁸James M. Dorsey and Robert Dale Owen, "Rough Estimate of New Harmony Real Estate, January 1832," MS. in Workingmen's Institute. This values the property belonging to Robert Owen at \$95,849.50; belonging to Robert Dale and William Owen at \$33,198.22; and belonging to [David] Dale and Richard Owen at \$15,160.00; a total of \$144,207.72 still in the hands of Owen and his sons. Pencil figures on the document give somewhat lower valuations. The land owned by Robert Dale and William Owen had been conveyed to them by their father in return for their shares in the New Lanark mills, which he liquidated in order to secure funds. See R. D. Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), p. 294.

now in process of formation—the Agricultural and Pastoral, and the Mechanic and Manufacturing—were to provide a permanent and workable solution to the problem of communitarian organization. His gradual disillusionment on all three points is the principal theme of the letters he wrote Madame Fretageot on his travels.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, MOUNT VERNON, INDIANA,
9 JUNE 1826

DEAR MADAM,

We arrived here yesterday after 6 hours of a not disagreeable travel. All well. One steam boat had gone down and one up the River a few hours before our arrival, but one is expected down today, . . . the River being sufficient for such boats to navigate, having $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet water in the shallowest places. So it is probable that we shall find little difficulty in proceeding, which may disappoint you a little in your expectations of having Francis [Frances Wright] so soon amongst you. But you must write to her, particularly if you make any progress in your organization, which I'm afraid will be no easy task, particularly Mr. O's part of it. Everything I have heard since I left Harmony diminishes the little confidence I had in the materials he has to work upon, and you cannot be too cautious of choosing your members, avoiding as much as possible those who have contracted indolent, grumbling and corrupt habits under the wretched government of the preliminary Society.

You will have to check P[hiquepal] in his rage for legislation and regulation. Let all your practice arise out of experience, and all your conduct be in strict union, the principles of the System being adhered too, never to attempt to teach what the children don't comprehend and in the exact ratio of their understanding it. The how and when you begin is immaterial and not worth the disputing about. . . . The savage state of the children in Harmony has been much in their favor, and the only class hurt by it is perhaps the girls from 15 to 20, whom you are prudent and wise to avoid as setting bad examples to your infants. . . .

When you find occasion caution Mr. O. against spending much more money upon his present population, and not to join my name in any of the Bonds he may take, as all my property is devoted to schools as the only way of benefiting mankind. What the schools will be enabled to pay him . . . , nearly 60,000 dollars, is nearly 15,000 dollars more than the half of all he paid Rapp for

the real property. The personal and other expenses was wasted before I met with him in the United States, of course cannot be considered as anything to me. I leave it to your management that he may be aware of what he has to depend upon for his future payments, and not spend the 30,000 dollars I shall have to pay him for the schools in making or purchasing (like the tobacco &c.) long before he can properly [?] make any use [?] of it.

I hope your community will practice the true friendly and fellow feeling towards all the others and give them an example of what ought to exist in the Social order, tho I have not the smallest idea that any of them for many years will be sufficiently enlightened to reciprocate. The advantage taken on the land is a proof how little they understand of all the theories of Mr. O[wen] which till now must be considered as mere theories. I'm glad you'r independent of them. The general opinion is that Natural Philosophy, Chymistry, Natural History &c. are perfectly useless and wast[e] of money to the communities, and I'm not certain if P. is not at the bottom of that idea, as all of them are rather out of his road having never paid much attention to any of them and cannot value any quality in another he does not possess himself. . . .

I remain yours sincerely

WM MACLURE

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, CINCINNATI, 20 JUNE 1826

DEAR MADAM,

I have already written to you twice some hints that occurred to me . . . We have given an order . . . for books, copperplates &c. wanted for the publications of Lesueur & Say's works. . . . The order given by Dr. Troost for glass ware, furnaces &c.—all of which can be got in this country for the freight they would cost from London—we have suppressed because Chymistry is one of those sciences we cannot expect to make any figure in at first, and must be confined to the Kitchen, Brewhouse, and other things of immediate use, as we will be quite unfit for a long time to make any speculation that will obtain either reputation or credit for the School any where, the Chymistry in Neef's *Sketch* going as far as utility dictates. Most of the apparatus ordered by Troost, in addition to what we have already, will not probably be usefull for a long time.

I gave a hint of keeping all the minerals that came from Phila[delphi]a, both those packed by Piquepal & others, separate from Troost's cabinet, and give the charge of them to Lesueur to be divided amongst the Schools that will no doubt becom estab-

lished in this country, likewise giving reasons for wishing as few of the materials lent to Phiquepal or bought with my money going under his name as his individual property, that the Schools might not be deprived of them by the whim or caprice of one so full of all extravagant fancies. Dr. Troost is a good natured, well meaning man, but his better half has perhaps too many religious prejudices founded on ignorance, which has an immense influence on the actions of any married man at Troost's age, but all this is *entre nous* and those you can place confidence in.

I have not yet the exact state of the Yellow Springs. (My leg confines me to the house tho getting better slowly. It requires to be kept up on a chair). From all I can learn, there has been much money spent by mismanagement of the old community, just as the preliminary society wasted for Mr. Owen, which expenditure of property any new community that may be established will not pay, nor perhaps will the members to the old community be equally willing as Mr. O. to suffer the loss, which will be one bar to making a new community, without which I cannot interfere. . . . Unless I can do something on a secure footing I will do nothing; tho the locality is better calculated to succeed under proper selection and do more good to the cooperative system than any result than can possibly come from the heterogenous materials of Harmony, spoiled as they have always been by the force of money, which has produced nothing but waste and destruction of property. It's probable all that Mr. O. will ever realize of his property under such management is the 50 or 60,000 dollars the School Community will be enabled to pay him. Shall be glad that event prove me a false profit but every new fact that occurs confirms my opinions formed on the place.

You must be entirely independent of the other societies and keep your accounts with all of them short, as well as with the store. Let nothing run on in the loose, irregular manner all has been done formerly. No fortune however great is sufficient to stand such dilapidation. The store, unless differently managed to what it has been, will be the ruin of Mr. O's pecuniary independence, and then all his hopes must be annihilated, as he has done nothing in this country but by the power of money. When deprived of that his influence or management will be triflingly small. . . .

The Harmony finances will stand probably as under, if well managed, viz.

Sold to No. 2. 1300 acres good land . . .	\$4,680.
Sold to No. 3. 1400 acres of the best land . . .	7,000
Sold to the School Community. 900 acres of the land most worn out as being oftenest ploughed up near the town, with all the most useless houses . . .	54,000.
The rest of the property, if valued at the same price as that to the Schools, may amount to upwards of	110,000
	<hr/>
	175,000.
Cost: Mr. O. paid to Rapp	95,000
To pay . . . [<i>i.e.</i> , still owing to Rapp]	40,000
Goods put into store from Phila[delphi]a	15,000 150,000
	<hr/>

The amount that may be sure if well managed 25,000
But much reformation will be necessary in the œconomy, care and
attention to pence or cents. The only thing taken care of in the
Harmony industry is the great sums that take care of themselves,
except perhaps the sparing, not to say niggardly, œconomy to all
that relates to Schools. Let me know how you come on that. . . .

I'm not sure if you can have much aid in the management of
your affairs from any one except perhaps [Joseph] Applegath
& Robert [Dale Owen], if he could be joined to a Rib of talent
and good sense, but if fluttering about the feminine trifles of the
spoiled children at Harmony his utility will be paralyzed. . . . Take
warning from the faults of Mr. O. and his loose and incorrect mode
of doing business. Keep short accounts and frequent settlements.
Never put off till tomorrow what can be done to day; and always
recollect that foresight is the chief superiority we have over the
other animals, and that a biped without foresight is scarce above
the par of a quadruped.

Mr. Say has wrote to his engraver and printer to induce them
to join the community, and you would perhaps do well to get some
choice of your mecanics, not to be forced to take those that have
been spoiled at Harmony. . . . Always remmember that those
who sign your constitution to work for victuals & cloths can cost
you much more than 20 to 30 dollars a year and must be useless
indeed if they are not worth that. . . .

The Yellow Springs Community, with whose troubled af-
fairs Maclure was forced to concern himself, was one of the

independent communities established under the spell of Owenism in 1825-26, but without Owen's direct participation or support. This particular one had been organized in Cincinnati and had begun community life in July 1825 on a heavily mortgaged farm at Yellow Springs near Xenia in Greene County, Ohio, the present site of Antioch College. By January 1826 its difficulties were so menacing to the prestige of the Owenite movement that Robert Owen had gone there to look into its affairs. Now Maclure was continuing the investigation, such having been one of the purposes of his trip away from New Harmony. In late June he went to Yellow Springs and on 3 July attended a public meeting of the members, witnessing such a display of irreconcilable antagonisms that he despaired of a solution.¹⁹ Behind this factionalism Maclure detected the machinations of a certain Mr. Brown, almost certainly to be identified with the Paul Brown who played a similarly disruptive role in later months at New Harmony.²⁰

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, COLUMBUS, OHIO, 9 JULY 1826

. . . People begin to tire of preaching about communities, and not a few think that he that preaches best knows least of the practice, of which they are anxious to have a specimen . . .

¹⁹ In addition to the passages printed herein, Maclure discussed the affairs of Yellow Springs in letters to Madame Fretageot on 16 and 24 June, 21 July, 29 Aug., and 19 Sept. 1826. The Ohio sources concerning Yellow Springs are utilized in William A. Galloway, *History of Glen Helen* (Columbus, Ohio, 1932), pp. 47-53. References to it among New Harmony sources include: Donald Macdonald, *Diaries*, p. 335; *Pears Papers*, p. 23; "Pelham Letters," pp. 374, 400; and *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 71, 159 (23 Nov. 1825, 8 Feb. 1826). See also *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXVIII, 336; XXIX, 24, 133 (23 July, 10 Sept., 29 Oct. 1825); John H. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 59-65; and E. S. Dills, *History of Greene County, . . . Ohio* (Dayton, 1881), p. 665.

²⁰ Though Paul Brown arrived in New Harmony on 2 April 1826, his autobiographical *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* does not begin to be detailed and circumstantial until 28 May, hence he may well have visited Ohio in April or May. Maclure in his letter of 29 Aug. 1826, below, connects Mr. Brown with the community at Nevilsville, and Paul Brown's interest in that project is revealed in his own *Twelve Months*, p. 89. Moreover Mr. Brown's extreme position in favor of absolute community of property, mentioned by Maclure in the letter just cited, was identical with Paul Brown's. See p. 356, n. 32, below.

Mr. Applegath will no doubt get an assignment to me on the loan for the 24,500\$ already advanced, and another when he gives the 10,000 promissory notes I left with him.

In the book containing the list of books you'll find a paper containing some of the reasons why I withdraw myself from the responsibility of acts over which I had no control, for in all Mr. O's money operations I thought different and disapproved of them, but was told unless he was allowed his way he could not act, to which at last I so far dissented as to tell him I would back out at the risk of loosing the 10,000 dollars, but that loss must be on transactions that had taken place since our agreement, and that I could not consider the money wasted by the preliminary society or expended in any other way as making a part of his advance, to which he only said he was sorry for it, as he would have confined his plans to his own capital, which I told him he was not too late to do, as he had no engagement to pay but to Rapp next year and the year after, which to enable him to do I advanced the whole the School Community owes him, selling my 6% stock to get only the promise 5%. Now I shall most probably have yet 20,000\$ to pay him, which is just the sum he has to pay Rapp next May, and I have been thinking it would be better for both to retain that sum untill Rapp's bond comes due, for perhaps if I pay him before, he will let it slide thro his fingers, as he has most of his money since he came to this country, by giving his confidence to those no wise or prudent man would trust.

One of his confidants, Mr. Brown, came to the Yellow Springs, and they blame him for fomenting the rebellion of 7 or 8 of the old members of the former community who have seized upon hogs, plows, carts &c., and one time pretended to keep possession of the land, and do actually claim all the produce. He likewise endeavoured to injure poor Caleb Lowms by propagating that he was rejected at Harmony and ought not to be admitted at the Yellow Springs. He is, to say no more of him, a marplot, and I fear O. will find it when perhaps too late. . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO,
21 JULY 1826

. . . My native indolence, that was rather augmented than diminished by my destructive classical education, forced me to judge of great men and things by small circumstances, and to believe that straws showed how the wind blowed. It has been so with my judgement of Mr. O., and hitherto events have proved too well the correctness of my foresight not to encourage me in

supposing that I may still foresee the right and the wrong that may result from his situation and management, leaving to your prudence and management in communicating or not as you see a proper occasion.

I suppose, tho I know nothing, that he has divided the different societies of mechanics, agriculturalists &c.²¹ That the store, a property of nearly 30,000 dollars, he ought to sell it to none, but keep it in his own hand as well as the tavern, both of which would only spoil the community he would attach it to, and raise the jealousy of all the others. Besides he will require the control of the store and tavern to regain part of what he has lost and to do justice to the other small communities I suppose he intends to establish on his lands, which is what he ought to limmit his ambition to at present, as not only the safest and most œconomical, but likewise the most expeditious and certain way of furthering the sweep of his system.

It's really astonishing how the hopes and expectations of the friends of the system in this country has been disappointed by the height their imaginations were carried to by his forgetting that there was at least one century between the scenes his fancy was painting and the present. They have fallen into reality from such a height that the shock has paralyzed for the present all exertions, tho the state of society, price of land and labor such that 20,000 dollars judiciously employed would forward the system more in this healthy country than all he has expended on communities at Harmony can or probably will do with the materials he has to work upon. Fine mixed prairie and woodland can be bought at 1 dollar pr acre, and 1,000 dollars would suffice for building, so that communities could be established for 2,000 dollars, each with a much greater certainty of being repaid than any of those (except the Schools) he will establish at Harmony, for the necessary industry of building not only accustoms them to labor, but makes them carefull of what they make. Had the inhabitants of Harmony produced all the property Mr. O. bought in it, they could not possibly looked on and even helped to make it run to ruin. We are all egotists fond of our own as Mr. O. No fault to that, unless we mistake the road and crablike march backward as all short-sighted egotists always do. . . .

²¹ Actually the constitution of the New Harmony Agricultural and Pastoral Society was not adopted until 30 July 1826. *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 362-63 (9 Aug. 1826). On 20 Aug. both it and the Mechanic Society were mentioned as already in existence. *Ibid.*, I, 390 (30 Aug. 1826).

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO,
31 JULY 1826

. . . I have been long convinced the great error of Mr. Owing [*sic*] is following up his sanguin enthusiazm with the force of money, thinking to produce a revolution by money that can only be effected by the slow and snail paced conviction of the multitude for whose interest alone his system is contrived. It is the height of absurdity to suppose that it can have the countenance or support of any of the influential part of society. On the contrary, it would be the greatest imprudence not to expect every opposition, persecution & detraction that ingenuity can invent. Mr. O. has mistaken his own motives, and is therefore deceived in judging of the motives of others. He as the first founder of the practice (for the theory is old enough) has an infinitely superior stimulant to exertion than he has left to any that may follow him on the same road. Nor does he allow the proper weight to envy, which I could perceive was the main source of the opinions of most of his most intimate friends in London and else where, tho I believe to themselves unknown. . . .

Back in Springfield, Maclure began to hear more regularly from New Harmony. Letters of Madame Fretageot (now lost) reached him about the first of August and gave him the news to the middle of July. The most spectacular occurrence had been Owen's "Oration Containing a Declaration of Mental Independence," delivered on the Fourth of July, the fiftieth anniversary of that earlier Declaration which Owen believed he was now bringing to full fruition. "Are you prepared," he asked his hearers, "to imitate the example of your ancestors? . . . Are you prepared to achieve a MENTAL REVOLUTION, as superior in benefit and importance to the first revolution, as the mental powers of man exceed his physical powers?" Without waiting for a reply, Owen proclaimed his own independence of "the remaining mental bonds which for so many ages have grievously afflicted our nature":

"I now DECLARE, to you and to the world, *that Man, up to this hour, has been, in all parts of the earth, a slave to a TRINITY of the most monstrous evils that could be combined to inflict mental and physical evil upon his whole race.*

"I refer to PRIVATE, OR INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY—ABSURD

AND IRRATIONAL SYSTEMS OF RELIGION—and MARRIAGE, FOUNDED ON INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY COMBINED WITH SOME ONE OF THESE IRRATIONAL SYSTEMS OF RELIGION.”²²

Intended by Owen as a comprehensive challenge to conservatism, his discourse had the desired effect of rousing nation-wide discussion. Never one to count the cost of his utterances, Owen hardly foresaw the disastrous consequences of thus cementing the alliance between all the potential enemies of the New Harmony experiment, of strengthening the defenders of the existing social order by bringing to their assistance the forces of religion and the powerful taboos with which sexual conventions are ringed about. Even Maclure, who, better than Owen, sensed the dangers in such temerity, was at first disposed to praise the Oration.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO,
2 AUGUST 1826

. . . I'm rejoiced to learn of the community forming on the Prairies²³ on three accounts: first the release their absence will bring to the Societies of New Harmony, 2dly They will multiply the experiments on Community System, and thirdly they have a greater chance of contentment and happiness when their self love and vanity is flattered with being the founders, which will likewise support them in suffering the necessary privations. . . .

I'm likewise glad that [Stedman] Whitwell²⁴ is going to England, as in his present temper of mind, excited by disappointed pride, ambition & revenge, aided by his electioneering habits of intrigue, cunning & declamation, he would have been a thorn in all your sides individually by propagating every thing that could hurt your feelings and injuring the community by intising every

²² *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 330 (12 July 1826).

²³ Probably the Agricultural and Pastoral Society. See footnote 21 above and p. 360, n. 37, below.

²⁴ Stedman Whitwell, architect, had come from England with Owen in November 1825 and was a passenger on the "boatload of knowledge." He was elected Superintendent of General Economy when the Community of Equality was organized, he devised the system of nomenclature according to which Feiba-Peveli was named, and he began the elaborate meteorological record at New Harmony that Gerard Troost continued. See Donald Macdonald, *Diaries*, pp. 307, 332-34; *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 175, 199, 226-27, 272 (22 Feb., 15 March, 12 April, 17 May 1826).

member that could be influenced to leave it. But *give the Devil his due*, he never hinted the smallest complaint to me against Mr. Owen nor did any observation of his on the faults of the preliminary society either add or diminish the opinion I formed respecting 9/10 of them being very unfair materials for an impartial experiment of the sweep of the System. Time will show how many of them turns out well. When Whitwell returns from England he will be quite changed, will loose much of that aristocratic hauteur and arbitrary mode of commanding. The most effectual cure for the selfcreated importance of our mushroom aristocracy is a visit to that paradize of every species of power and priviledge, Britain.

I hope you will not give Troost the book with all the papers, which was only meant for your own and friends' use, containing my reasons in full for withdrawing from any part of the profits or loss of the Community System under the management of Mr. O., under a positive conviction that my money could not advance under his management one iota the System and that the abundance of money was the cause of all his errors, which I still think, and that the capital he has the command of at present is fully more than can be of any use to him or his System. You are wrong to suppose that my opinions can be of any use to him, tho I have been giving them fully thro you. If there is an ultimate loss by the purchase of Harmony, which I don't think probable if judiciously managed, my agreement may perhaps induce me to pay half as far as 10,000\$, tho I have not had nor cannot now have any control or participation in the management. Our opinions, from the difference of surrounding circumstances, would only class [clash] and imperil both our plans. My money must all go to forward schools but which I shall establish in the Community System and attach them all to some one of the communities formed on his principles.

His 4th of July oration is all true and told in a masterly manner, tho I could have wished it had been defferred untill next July to allow a little more time for the flambeau of reason to thro[w] light into the dark corner of society, where the abuses of all ages yet known has thrown the best and most usefull members. For the great mass of productive laborers must be the support and only protection to his system, and to endeavour to force it by the power of money or otherwise beyond the point of the thorough conviction of their interest will advance it nothing. And when the class of productive laborers are sufficiently informed to see the advantage they are to derive from it, they will

require nothing but what they possess in this country with the greatest freedom, the use of their arms.

The only part of the establishment that may be hurt by this bold discourse may be that part which the school community expect from strangers by the education of their children, tho it may be said that the discourse contains only the private opinions of Mr. Owen and that the schools are independent of him and teach no species of religion, leaving the minds of youth a piece of blanc paper on which their priests or parents may write what they please. . . .

You must try to manage the women, for they seem to rule the men in all the events that have crossed you. Take care not to offend their vanity, and let example preceed precept. . . .

I'm intirely of your opinion that amusement is, or ought to be, the wages of Labor, and that your reunions at the Hall are the best, cheapest and most effectual method of creating [?] that friendly feeling and smoothing down that vulgar asperity into all the lovable and aimable habit which distinguishes the true friend of his species from the hypocrite or pretender. . . .

Has there been any of the inhabitants left out of all the Communities, and what is come of them? . . .

The storm raised by Owen's "Declaration of Mental Independence" gained in fury with each passing week. Before the end of the summer Maclure found it necessary to dissociate himself more sharply from responsibility for Owen's statement. This he did in a letter to a friend near Philadelphia, excerpts from which eventually found their way into the newspapers.

MACLURE TO AN UNNAMED GENTLEMAN, [LOUISVILLE],
20 SEPTEMBER 1826²⁵

I did all I could to bridle the impetuosity of the enthusiastic reformer. But, after all, what have the three positions to do with the co-operative system? not quite so much as fungus that grows at the root of a tree, has with the health or prosperity of the tree. *They are the opinions of one individual, Mr. Owen*, who is, perhaps, the only one within five hundred miles of him, who thinks them fit or necessary in the present state of society, and have no more effect on the inhabitants of New Harmony, than they have upon the citizens of Philadelphia.—Mr. Owen in all his

²⁵ Philadelphia *National Gazette and Literary Register*, 24 Oct. 1826 (triweekly edition), p. 4. For references to the publication of this letter, see Maclure, 24 Feb. 1827, below.

speculative opinions is no more to the communities of Harmony, than the opinions of any other individual that would take the same pains to communicate them. All the communities have bought property of Mr. Owen, and except that they have to pay him at the end of seven years, have no more either mental or corporeal dependence on him than they have on any other individual. The school community is relieved from the obligation of paying Mr. Owen for their property, by a loan that I made them, to free them from every appearance of mental or physical connection, and take them from under the controul of any of his plans and schemes that might appear to him necessary to carry into effect his grand projects, with the success of which the schools have no more to do, than they have with any other improvement by facilitating, through the medium of information and knowledge, the amelioration of the destinies of mankind, all of which we expect to accomplish, by giving a more useful practical education at a far cheaper rate than can be got in any part of the Union. One hundred dollars per annum for clothing, boarding and education is the present price, and as pecuniary profits are not the object of any of the professors, it is more probable it will be cheaper than dearer.

Even before Owen's attack upon conventional marriage as part of the "hydra of evils" from which men must declare their mental independence, baseless rumors of sexual infidelity at New Harmony had been circulated by the opponents of the community. They reached the ears of Mrs. Joseph Sistaire, with whom Maclure had boarded in New York, and whose three daughters (including the future Mrs. Thomas Say) were now at New Harmony. On 4 August 1826, accordingly, Maclure wrote her a reassuring letter from Springfield, which was eventually published in the Philadelphia *United States Gazette* and reprinted on 5 October in the triweekly Washington *National Intelligencer*. A week after sending the letter he summarized its contents for Madame Fretageot.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO,
11 AUGUST 1826

From the state of misery, fear and tribulation manifested by Mrs. Sistaire in most of her letters I was induced (in hopes of alleviating part of her troubles) to volunteer a long letter assuring

her of the morality of the inhabitants of Harmony being more correct than in any part of the Earth I ever was in, touching on that pivot of all the lyes, the sexual intercourse. I expected that the married were more faithfull and the young more chaste than in any part of the Globe I had visited; much about sobriety, order . . . and friendly conduct &c. I contrasted the simplicity, innocence and moral conduct of the members of our Society with the extravagance, debauchery and vice of New York and the other large towns of the Union that I know by experience, and finished by a tirade on the uncertainty of depending on commerce and wondering what would become of the legions of bankrupt merchants and idle clerks that would be let loose on society for that our roads was not rich enough to provide for them &c.

I stated to Robert last post that the prospectus must come from you first. You must consult and make it as concize as possible, perhaps something in this form, viz.

M. Fretageot & assistants, infants school from 2 to 5 . . .

Joseph Neef & family & assistants, from 5 to 12 . . .

C. A. Lesueur, designing [?] &c.

T. Say, Zoology &c.

Dr. Troost, Mineralogy, Chymistry &c.

giving a short sketch of what each means to teach, and finishing all with an account of the local improvements & other means of farming, gardening &c., which you possess. And when it is once in the *Harmony Gazette* we must try to induce our agents to get it put into the other gazettes, such as Clark & Green here, & Reuben Haines & others at Philadelphia, some of our friends at New York &c., to give it as great publicity as possible. Might get some one to publish it at New Orleans &c. . . .

'Tis unlucky that you have not a substitute for Phiquepal, but one must be found. From his physical weakness and moral uncertainty it will not be prudent to suspend the school every time any derangement of his faculties takes place. I fear he will never be perswaded to fit any of his pupils to take his place, and the only thing to be done is to enable every head of the occupation to carry on the business without a director, which, as far as the mechanical arts, will not be difficult. Mathematics, Natural Philosophy &c. Neef or some [?] one of the Gentlemen might supply for an hour or two pr day—all that will be counted in their sciences. We will be short of teachers if we cannot induce some of our scientific friends from Europe or else where to join us. . . .

I'm glad to learn that your house will soon be finished and that your general eating room and kitchen will soon be in opera-

tion, without which you cannot establish any equality in food. And it will also tend much to equality of knowledge from the sociable intercourse that may take place if mixed with judgement, a strata of common sence and reason between two stratas of ignorance. . . .

You are mistaken about Whitwell in the smallest manner raising or creating any dryness between me and O., for there is not the smallest difference or dryness between us, only I see the impossibility of money at present doing any good to his population. And what I have learned of the different other Communities confirms me that industry alone can make the system succeed, and his wealth has spoiled all the members of the preliminary Society. Had I seen that before I made an agreement with him I would not have made it and now must draw back while I have anything to carry on my School improvements, even if I should pay the forfeiture. I am glad to hear he keeps the store in his own hands. It is the only way he can ever get back any of the money he has put into it, as I have no confidence in the payments from any of the communities except the Schools, and even then, unless I advanced it, the money would most probably be long of coming in. It was on purpose that he might not be pinched that I advanced the 60,000 for the Schools, which I can afford without interfering with my other plans. But farther I cannot go, nor is it his interest to expend more, but settle small societies with a few hundred dollars. He cannot expect any returns from the members of the preliminary society. But I shall be glad to be wrong. I wrote you this in some of the letters you have received to prevent him depending on it, but perhaps they are so scrawled you cannot have time to read them. . . .

The communities of adults seems to fall off in all quarters. The class for whose interest it immediately was begun, from ignorance and prejudices don't support them, and the classes against whose interest they appear to militate are as industrious as ants and work underground like moles. Schools, after all, are the only mode an individual has to benefit or improve mankind. Think that our Schools will do well, but we must not be in a hurry. Take time. If I could think I could be of any use to you I would come immediately, but all I can do for you I can as well do here as with you, and perhaps in travelling I can do more to fill your schools than any good I could do with you, for it is not the time to push the Community of adults. 1 dollar some years hence will go further than 100 dollars now. Never be in a hurry. Mr. O[wen] ought to take time and not expend his money, for his property in England is not perhaps worth 1/4 of what it was when he left it.

I have so far lost the little confidence I had in adults or parents that I believe no good system of education can have a fair trial but with orphans, and when I come home we shall consult on the best mode of taking 50 or 100, for the blindness and ignorance of most, even in this free country, is astonishing. . . .

P.S. I shall remain here 8 or 10 days and afterwards go to Cincinnati by way of Zenia. . . .

On the same day that Maclure was describing the prospectus that Madame Fretageot should prepare, she was writing him from New Harmony of events that were seriously affecting the schools. The two newly formed societies had decided not to pay tuition to the Education Society and had withdrawn their children. At a meeting in the New Harmony Hall, according to Paul Brown, "Robert Dale Owen, who was then superintendent general of the education society, stood up, and addressing the people, made demand of certain stipulated [or understood] pay to be advanced for the tuition of the other societies' children; alleging it was impossible without it for them to exist as a society. . . . The farmers or pastorals determined to withdraw their children from the boarding school, but were willing to pay for the tuition they had received. The mechanics refused to pay at all, and thenceforth their children were considered as withdrawn, and their attendance stopped."²⁶ This situation Madame Fretageot reported to Maclure in the only letter of hers for the year that is in the collection.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
11 AUGUST 1826²⁷

Your letter dated 24th of July received. I am very glad that our letters are arrived in your hand. Mr. Owen[']s speech or declaration will produce much excitation but it will no doubt open the eyes of a great many and be useful to the progress of truth.

²⁶ Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 34-36; the brackets are his. The date is not clear in Brown's narrative, but from Madame Fretageot's letter it appears that the decision was made early in August, prior to the completion of Owen's series of discourses on education, discussed below.

²⁷ The letter bears the date of 11 July, but the first sentence makes it clear that this is an error for August.

People at first is struck with new ideas but soon begin to reflect on the subject and conviction follows.

We are now under the necessity of returning the children of the Communities' Mechanics and farmer[s] to their parents after having calculated that our expense amounted to such height and that all our members were occupied exclusively to the schools, without any return either in money or good from the said Communities.

Also that the children under Neef['s] direction are making progress in every kind of bad habit on account of Neef's sickness and the poor management [of] his wife, that as a housekeeper is the least calculated to be at the head of such an establishment, where order and economy must be the two first principle to be put in practice with the strickest attention. Then as the number of our children, with those whose parents who are willing to pay their pension will raise to about 80. Resolved that they will be put under my care in the house No. 5. That the boys above 12 will be under the direction of Robert Dale [Owen]. We said first as long as Phiquepal's sickness will last; but this morning the said Ph., about 2 hours before his returning to the Prairies, came to tell me that his 3 boys, Falque, Amedee and Alexis, were not to be comprised in such arrangements, that they would remain by themselves in the Steeple house without any other direction. I observed to him that in a place called community of equality, and added, as his sickness was in his brain more than in his body, I could easily calculate that it would be a long one, and that I could say that if he had any desire to proceed what he had begun he would certainly be able to do it, and that his children shall not be treated differently than any of the others. He took such violent aller [?] of passion that he abused me with his tongue as much as he could, and from thence he went [to House] No. 3²⁸ where he continued on the same topic and put the Whole in such a confusion that I suppose they were frightened and said that the boys were to remain according the wish of that fool. This particulars have just been related to me by Mr. Applegath who says that he had not the patience of remaining longer in the room where he was abusing me without restraint.

Now it is to be decided that he will have nothing more to [sic] here; for my resolution in keeping the children will be followed the same, and that the bad feelings that he has raised

²⁸ House No. 5 was the old Rapp Mansion, destroyed by fire in 1844, which stood on the northwest corner of what is now Church and Main streets. The Steeple House was the frame church of the Rappites, built in 1816 and taken down in 1836. House No. 3 was the Tavern, still standing.

against me among the members of our community will soon disappear. It is just like the waves of the sea when raised by a storm against a rock may for a moment sully it with their foams but regain soon its appearance in showing its solidity. It would be necessary that your return be as speedily as possible, on account of the property in the hands of P., as I never told him in full your intention concerning it, because there was time enough as long as his stay here was, as I suppose, of longer duration, and that he will no doubt make much noise about it. I suppose your presence necessary; in all case I will do what will appear to me the most just. You must also know that I do not suppose he has much money. In case he would undertake a voyage this must be considered; tho' I think he is unfit as a member in our community, he may be more or less useful any where else, and cannot remain without means. . . .

I am really sorry that Applegath leaves us. He is really a man of buseness and of activity. And that comes from an uncorrect idea of things. If he had been acquainted with the true state of a community, with all the thousand obstacles that ignorance throws in the way, he would have calculated them before hand and not be disturbed in meeting them. This is most the case of human mind, the result of false speculation arising from the ignorance of things the most useful to us. . . .

In his letter of 11 August 1826 Maclure had rejoiced that Owen planned to keep the New Harmony store in his own hands. The radicals in the community took a different view, however, accusing Owen of being "willing to shift into the characters of a retailer and tavern keeper, to save by nine-penny and four-pence-half-penny gains, after the manner of pedlars, the money which he had lost, probably 30,000 dollars, to keep the community fund good." In response to such pressure, "the tavern was sold or hired to the farming society, and the store divided, Owen taking one part of it, and . . . the mechanics' society the other," according to Paul Brown.²⁹ This arrangement satisfied no one, as the reports that soon reached Maclure made clear.

²⁹ *Twelve Months*, pp. 24, 25.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, CINCINNATI,
[18]-21 AUGUST 1826³⁰

We got here today the 18 August and found Mr. Hillbourn, the shoe maker, ready to set out with all the things ordered for the School Community, by whom the present is sent. Found the *Harmony Gazette* of the 2 August but no letters, tho young [William Creese] Pelham, I believe a member of the School Community, came here two days ago and is gone to Zanesville on business. . . . He brought some account of your mechanical Community being very dissatisfied because Mr. Owen did not give them the whole of the store in place of the half. And I'm rather of opinion in giving them the half he has given them what will prevent them from doing any thing for themselves untill they have spent the whole, and will totally prevent the store being of the smallest use to the other Societies. But I suppose it was a bonus to try to satisfy them, as the Tavern was to attempt to please the pastorals; in both of which he will most probably fail as completely as he has failed in all his attempts to benefit the heterogeneous mass he has gathered together.

But you may say it's none of our business; he has a right to do with his own property what he pleases. True, but when I see a friend persevering in throwing away his property (which it must be evident to all that has observed the nature of the materials he has at Harmony) defeats all his own plans and good intentions, one cannot help mentioning. At the same time I shall be glad if events prove I'm a false prophet. Both the Tavern and store he should have kept in his own hands as a check upon the avarice of the speculative mass he has had to deal with and has yet. An afraid he will preach to the winds. They will hear him and flatter him as long as they can get money from him. When that is done all is gone. I shall do all I can for the success of the Schools, and can only hint at the necessity you're under of having little to do with the other two communities but to give a good education to their children and get in return what is necessary to keep up the establishment. . . .

I have a much worse opinion of the preliminary society since I have heard of the various tricks they used to obtain order on the store for what they never performed or had the least intention of performing. . . .

Your *Gazette* is all to one tune, which people begin to tire

³⁰ Dated the 21st, but begun, as the opening states, on the 18th.

of. It would be better to vary it a little, if any of your scriblers were capable. Having heard so much theory and seen so little, and which little not the best, practice, many conceive it will all end in smoke like many other theories. . . .

I did not conjecture that Mr. O. was quite so amouros as the stories make him. The wives of the greatest part of those that have left you lately have declared to their husbands that it was in consequence of the freedom that Mr. O. took with them that they could not think of remaining under such dreadful risk of their virtue. This, beat up with the discourse on the antient mode of marriage, forms a nostrum that gives currency to all the stories about indiscriminate intercourse and all things being in common. The lyes that are circulating would make one believe that Harmony is to be made the scape goat of the whole western country, and all the calumny & scandal on this side the Aliganies is to be fixed on the back of the Harmonians without the Jewish advantage of hiding themselves in the desert.³¹ The fact is that the ennemies (as I frequently have told you) are enthousiastically industrious in inventing all kinds of falshoods, and the great mass for whose benifit it is, and must always remain, are drowned in whisky, with the torpor and appathy of Chinese. The few who tryed, expecting the paradice of Mr. O's lectures, were disappointed and, like all ignorance, rail against what their self conceit takes for the Cause.

After Maclure had written this letter, the *New-Harmony Gazette* of 9 August 1826 came to hand, providing food for reflection. Maclure was apparently mistaken in assuming that the constitution of the New Harmony Agricultural and Pastoral Society, printed therein, represented an amalgamation of two hitherto existing societies. But he was not mistaken about the significance of two general meetings in the New Harmony Hall which the *Gazette* reported. At the first of these, on 30 July, Robert Owen had been interrogated on his new doctrines of marriage, and then had been confronted by a point-blank question that revealed how radical was the agitation at New Harmony for complete community of property. "Suppose," asked an unnamed member, perhaps

³¹ "But the goat, on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat, shall be presented alive before the LORD, to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scapegoat into the wilderness." Leviticus 16:10.

Paul Brown, "one third of the population of this place should pledge themselves to go the whole way with you, would you be willing to go the whole—would you be willing to make common stock of all your property—Are you willing to do this?"³² Maclure saw the portent in this remark, but he had even greater reason to be perturbed by a discourse on education given by Owen on 6 August and published in the same issue of the *Gazette*.³³ It was not the substance of the speech that was alarming, but the thinly veiled threat with which Owen accompanied his comment on Maclure's schools: "If they fail however, or fall short in their conceptions or practice of the education which the new system requires, then they must be furnished with such aids and assistance as may be needed to complete this important part of the arrangement of the measures in which we are engaged."

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, [CINCINNATI, 21 AUGUST 1826, FIRST LETTER]³⁴

. . . Mr. Owen, when you mention him as my partner, I have not the smallest connection with anything he has done. Every purchase or sale he has made has been either against my will or unknowing to me, for which I cannot for a moment consider myself responsible. When I objected he said he must have his own way &c. When I told him I could not consider myself connected with affairs I did not approve of and must back out at the [risk] of the forfeiture, but that I must consider his part of the inlay to be only what he paid Rapp, the half of which I shall have advanced him when I enable the School Community to pay him 60,000 Dollars. All the rest was expences and loss long before I saw Mr. O. in America, and of course could not properly be

³² *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 365 (9 Aug. 1826). A similar question was put to Owen on 20 Aug. 1826. *Ibid.*, I, 391 (30 Aug.). On 10 Sept. 1826 Paul Brown delivered an address in the New Harmony Hall advocating immediate and complete community of property. See his *Twelve Months*, pp. 41-54. Also compare Maclure's letter of 29 Aug. 1826, below.

³³ Volume I, pp. 366-67 (9 Aug. 1826).

³⁴ This letter is without date line or postmark, but is written on the stationery Maclure used only during these months. Internal evidence, afforded by paragraphs not printed here, proves conclusively that it was written after Maclure had completed his letter of [18]-21 Aug. above, and before he began his other, fully dated letter of 21 Aug. below.

equal to my cash, or to have anything to do with it. I must therefore have nothing further to do with the business except the Schools.

I wrote you from Mount Vernon to prevent his inserting my name in any of the bonds he might take, as I did not conceive I had any interest in any of his transactions. All I wrote to you concerning him was intended for him to read, all without changing one Iota of my good opinion of the System; only from the first of his operations to the present I could not approve of his mode of execution. I objected to every thing he has bought for store, mill, tobacco &c., and told him I would as soon throw my money into the Ohio as have anything to do with the people he seemed to have confidence in.

By the last *Gazette* the pastoral & agricultural Communities are dissolved and joined into one without any certainty of going on together. However, Mr. O. seems a little more cautious. He had not given them, when the constitution was drawn up, any tittle to the property he might have sold them. That curious question and answer put into the *Gazette*, tho the answers are so vague that little can be known by them, it is not so with the questions. They speak volumes on the motives of the questioners. "Would you, Mr. O., put all your property into the common stock agreeable to your theory"; That is, we are here in expectation of making all the benefit from your property as the principle motive that keeps us here.

I wish him all the success possible, tho I'm convinced that a mine of gold would do nothing towards establishing the community system under his management. I may be wrong but must act upon my knowledge for my own preservation. The Schools I shall push to the utmost extent, but they must be independent of his metaphysics, which I call all schemes attempted to be introduced into society some centuries before mankind are prepared for them. . . . Don't allow yourself to doubt of the success of the Schools. They shall be supported with all my property. And if the folly of Owen's communities will not permit them to work in their Children, we shall experiment on Children that are independent of them. I have seen no part of Mr. Owen's conduct (as to preaching, it goes for nothing with me) that could create an idea that he is acquainted with the rudiments of a good education, or that in his hurry to carry everything by storm he has reflected on the immense use a rational education must be of to the ultimate advancement of his system.

There are many like Phiquepal who will copy from none nor teach or act upon anything but what their vanity makes them

believe is of their invention. 'Tis in you and Neef I have confidence that you will be able to raise helpers for your selves and be independent of foreign support. But it must not be limmited to a few. You must endeavour to qualify many to propagate the System. I don't mean the System that may arrise out of Mr. O's second lecture. Your community must be considered as independent of that and all other schemes but what is dictated by reason and practicable in the present state of society.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, CINCINNATI, 21 AUGUST 1826
[SECOND LETTER]

. . . You are wrong in supposing I have the smallest connection in Mr. O's Communities except allowing [?] the money to the School Community to pay him for the amount of property they have bought of him. . . . You may take your time to advising of all this, that he may not trust to receive any more from me than clearing the Schools when a good and sufficient tittle is given.

All this is without changing any part of my good opinion of the Community system. I only have for the last 6 mos tottaly changed my opinion of Mr. Owen's capability to succeed in any undertaking on the high visionary ideas that a concurrance of circumstances had ingendered in his brain; and that however willing I might be to spend my money on my own education visions, I'm positively determined to waste none of it on the visions of others, except as far as the education system will forward his, which I firmly believe will do more for it than all the money he could spend, even if he had ten times the sum, on grown persons. . . .

You say you are convinced that nothing will go well but under the immediate management of Mr. Owen and yet you see he puts all out of his management by giving the store and tavern to others, who have already, by laying a sure [?] tax on strangers, anihilated the very spring of the community system &c. But these things are none of my business. He may do as he pleases with his own money, but cannot possibly expect to get any more of mine than the payment of the School Community. . . .

Already those who have the tavern have begun to speculate on the curiosity of the public by raising the Boarding 1 dollar pr week.³⁵ 'Tis the first but not the last inconvenience [?] by

³⁵ The "Rates of Fare" at the "House of Entertainment in New-Harmony," advertised in the *Gazette*, I, 327 (5 July 1826), included the following charges: "Each Meal's Victuals, \$0.25 Cts"; "Lodging, per night, 0.12 1-2"; "Each person boarding and lodging per day, 0.62 1-2";

O. putting the store & tavern out of his own control. Visitors to the School must not be subject to the gripe of individual cupidity.

Mr. Owen's Lecture on education in this day's *Gazette* of the 9 August, as far as your infant school, is well. When he comes higher, fear the parrot system of New Lanark will interfere much with Neef, and give further cause of complaint to ignorance. Mr. O. is in too great a hurry and has some further object which I cannot at present fathom. I'm rejoiced to find you all united in friendly feelings. The explanation on marriage, tho rather vague, was wanted, as the stories of the married women who have lately left you gives room to conjectures on the sexual relation being indiscriminate and in common.

Mr. Say is busy naming a great addition they have got to their museum here. . . .

While Thomas Say occupied himself with natural history, Maclure continued his investigation of the various Owenite projects that had been or were being set afoot in Cincinnati. A month earlier, at Springfield, he had learned of a plan for a new community at Nevilsville on the Ohio River, twenty or thirty miles above Cincinnati, where a Mr. Nevil was offering 2500 acres of land for the experiment.³⁶ Now, as Maclure looked further into the matter in Cincinnati, he discovered again the trail of that "Mr. Brown" who had stirred up trouble at the Yellow Springs Community, and whose extreme doctrines regarding community of property were identical with those of Owen's unnamed questioner at New Harmony.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, CINCINNATI, 29 AUGUST 1826

. . . I wrote to Robert Dale [Owen] and explained all I knew of your affairs, tho very little of the particulars reaches us but by the *Gazette*, which is so vague as to leave much to conjecture. It appears the Mr. O. made three communities, mechanics, agriculturals & pasturals. The two last were presently dissolved and partly joined the prairies &c., since which they have been joined "Each person boarding and lodging, per week, 3.00." See also Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 120.

³⁶ Mentioned to Madame Fretageot in a letter from Springfield on 24 July 1826, not printed herein. The Nevilsville project was still under consideration in 1827. See "Pelham Letters," p. 415; and Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 89.

into one society³⁷ and, as the mechanics, . . . [show] the same . . . discontent.

Agreeable to what is said here, Mr. Brown tryed his skill as an experienced community man with Mr. Nevil here to form a community at Nevilville, and brought another Lawyer with him, & Mr. Roe, principle agent in the dissolution of the Yellow Springs and who keeps possession of part of the premises now. Mr. Nevil says they insisted on his giving up all his property to be in common &c., and such other conditions which in the present imperfect state of the community system he thought it would be madness to comply with. They seem all to act upon the most exaggerated principles of Owenizm, and all seem totally to forget the state of society they are in, as if a few lectures from a heated imagination could possibly reform the work of many centuries, and the greatest change that ever was attempted on earth to be effected like magic or a change in the scenes of a Theatre, when all the power of the Russian Autocrats have not been able to cut one hair of the Beards of their slaves.

The reason I trouble you so much about Owen's affairs is the fear I have of his throwing away all his money upon materials that never was, nor I believe never will be, fit for making a fair experiment of the System: that when his money is gone his influence is at an end, and all he has done will crumble into dust. It goes hard with me to think so, and nothing but the reiterated folly and blunders he has and is still making could possibly force me into that train of thinking: after he had been completely disappointed in all his Legislative Trust resolves [?] & other schemes, which might have convinced any but the most obstinate egotist the total impossibility of doing anything with such a mass of heterogeneous matter.

His interest, the interest of the System, and characters of both, imperiously demanded to follow a contrary system: to divide

³⁷ Maclure was mistaken in assuming that the "agriculturals & pasturals" had once constituted two separate societies; the other sources agree in describing them as a single organization. See Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 24-25, 35-36; see also footnote 21 above. The reference here to "the prairies" is puzzling. Elsewhere the term seems clearly to refer to the Agricultural and Pastoral Society. See Maclure, 2 Aug., and 25 Sept. 1826, and Mme. Fretageot, 11 Aug. 1826; the term occurs in no other contemporary source. In the present passage, however, a contradistinction is obviously intended. Possibly the reference is to Community No. 3, or Feiba-Peveli, settled by farmers from the English Prairie, Morris Birbeck's colony in Illinois. See Karl Bernhard, *Travels*, in Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, p. 429.

the town mechanics into occupations ; abandon the town agriculturals or pastorals as unable from their previous habits & the circumstances that has, and does yet, surround them, of doing anything for themselves or others ; keep the store and tavern in his own hands as a regulator for all the communities ; and settling as many small communities on his land as he could find societies of 20 or 30 families intimately acquainted with each other and having confidence, the only possible foundation of that friendly feeling, the *sine qua non* of the Cooperative society. In giving up the control of the store and Tavern he has thrown the apple of discord among them and paralyzed the industry of those communities he has hurt by introducing the rage for speculation, the never failing attendants on trade, of which tavern keeping in this country is the most lucrative. But you shall hear no more on that subject from me. . . .

I am modestly and moderately recommending the schools, but do not venture on exaggerations that I cannot believe. Am therefore far behind Owen in his flights of imagination, as I have always found the best way of convincing mankind is to let them think their conviction rests on their own reason & reflection, not upon the *ipse dixit* of any one. . . .

You are all, except Neef, rather young in this country and may not be in the habits of foreseeing the consequences of the different manias that has seized upon this speculative people. The mercantile mania, created and encouraged by the Neutral trade, is nearly [?] on its last legs. The Bank mania has been crippled but has yet strength enough to engender a great deal of mischief. The Canal mania is now at its Zenith. The land speculation mania is almost defunkt after ruining most of its dupes. The canal mania is spreading like a pestilence, radiating from New York as a center, tho, like an old decayed tree rotten at the heart, shows vigor in the shoots from the bark. In this state the canal, 60 miles to a Village called Dayton, is 40 feet wide, gravel bottom, to be filled at one end by the Miami. I query if water enough can be got from the River in summer to replace the evaporation & filtration.

I had got so far when the post brought me yours of the 18th, Neef's of the 19, and Robert's of the same date, along with the most astonishing of them all, O's sermon on education, which as far as I understand it is the greatest mixture of contradictions I ever read. But he's incorrigible, and we must get out of the alliance as well as we can, and on no account make it appear that we differ from him in any material matter. Don't be too quick in following [his] Visionary schemes, but proceed slowly and

cautiously, for he is certainly, I had almost said, mad, talks as if he had the world in his pocket, that the few insignificant beings that were listening to him composed the whole inhabitants of the Earth—but I must stop.

By my last you may see that, knowing the superficial knowledge of Mr. O. on education, I rather was prepared for this blow up. I shall answer Neef's letter and advise him to be quiet, not permit the folly of an enthusiast to spoil a good and benevolent principle, that I will support him in the management of . . . Experimental School farms and get him orphans if others are not to be found to carry it on, that in the meantime he is to help Mr. Lesueur to take care of my books, instruments and minerals, none of which can be necessary to the parrot visionary education laid down by Mr. O.

Think you are too full of Owen. Don't allow your enthousiazm to embark your all in his fate. Cannot for a moment believe your charracter of the Neefs just, but shall not contradict you in your scheme of having a school on the Owen principle, tho I believe a visionary theory, in which no one of common sense has yet been run [?], for of all the children of New Lanark none got above the merit of twisting a thread of cotton. Keep cool and dispassionate. Don't act upon the ideas of the moment. Take a day, a week, and often a month to look at every side of the object.

I shall write to Robert [Dale Owen] this post. Tell him to assist Mr. Neef and Mr. Lesueur to secure all my books and minerals untill I return, and if necessary to give some of the money I left with him to Mr. Neef. His system I have watched the practice of for upwards of 25 years and cannot be such a fool as to abandon it for the wild speculations of a Visionary who does not see the rocks and shoals on which he and his flimsy bark will be dashed in pieces. . . .

P. S. I was the sole cause of Neef's comming to Harmony and am bound by all tyes to protect him and support him in the prosecution of his plans. I wish you and all Mr. O's schemes success, but I can't, without giving up all my sences and fall into a state of dreaming absurdity, think for a moment they can succeed. . . . The ennemy is on the watch and has too many scourges for us. Mr. O. has put all the rods in pickle.

The news that interrupted Maclure's letter concerned Owen's second lecture on education, delivered on 13 August 1826 and printed in the *Gazette* three days later.³⁸ The text as

³⁸ Volume I, pp. 372-75 (16 Aug. 1826).

printed contained little to justify Maclure's remark about a "blow up." The discourse, on the whole, was less visionary than most of Owen's utterances, and its broad principles harmonized in the main with Maclure's own educational philosophy. Owen, it is true, laid great stress upon the use of maps and globes and upon the learning of geographical names, and Maclure felt, with some reason, that this was a perversion of the new educational doctrines. From such training, he believed, pupils would receive not the useful and practical education that Owen promised, but a parrotlike facility at memorization. Moreover, Owen's fondness for the Lancasterian system of education, by which the older children would in part instruct the younger, was at variance with Maclure's idea of assembling the ablest teachers and men of science for the faculty of his schools.

Nevertheless, these divergencies in theory hardly account for the vehemence of Maclure's reaction to the news from New Harmony. One can only surmise that the letters of Neef, Madame Fretageot, and Robert Dale Owen revealed more than was in the printed reports—perhaps the detailed practical plans which Owen did not publicly announce until a third meeting on 20 August. These plans, eventually published in the *Gazette* on the 23d and the 30th,³⁹ were truly subversive of all the educational arrangements that had been worked out thus far at New Harmony. Owen proposed, and the community unanimously agreed, "that the entire population of New-Harmony should meet three times a week in the Hall for the purpose of being educated together: the children in the interim to be educated in classes; but to attend with the adults in the Hall." At one stroke the Education Society was to be deprived of all its functions, for the "interim" classes for children were to be under Owen's auspices.

What upset Maclure more than anything else was that Madame Fretageot fell in with these plans, against the judgment of the others in the Education Society, and undertook to

³⁹ Volume I, pp. 382-83, 390-91. The quotation is from p. 383.

conduct some of the classes that Owen's scheme called for. Paul Brown, writing with a strong bias against her, described the episode in the following terms: "This house, No. 5, was occupied by a Madame Fratageot, keeping a school for the inhabitants of [Community] No. 1, or south part of the town, in opposition to that of the education society, of which she had been expelled from membership for refusing to teach such a number of children and of such ages as the society appointed for her employ; she preferring to take the whole of the teaching under her superintendence. . . . It became a boarding school for young men of the other part of the town; besides being the school of a multitude of young children of both sexes, who resorted there every day. Such things were hostile and injurious to the feelings of the society, from the beginning; but they endured them. Some have found reasons for believing that this same female teacher was at the bottom of most of the overturning manœuvres of this place, as being willing by ingratiating herself with Owen and M'Clure, to promote her own interest exclusive of others."⁴⁰

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, CINCINNATI, 30 AUGUST 1826

DEAR MADAM

Tho I had anticipated some of the effects that Mr. O's interference with education must produce, from my previous conviction of his tottall ignorance and inexperience of anything but a kind of qua[c]kery resting on faith and beliefs as practiced at New Lanark, the news of the explosion only arriving about 2 hours before the last mail closed did not permit me to view it in all its bearings.

First, your situation as only one of the voices in the School community, which was only equal to any one of the many of Neef's helpers & family, that I suppose may be equal to nearly a majority (as Mr. Robert [Dale Owen] disclaims all interference), common prudence would certainly have dictated to you not to be in a hurry to throw all into confusion, and when the sick [?] pupils of Mr. O's surrounding circumstances took all their Children bag and baggage, cloths &c. away, you would have had the good sence to see how many remained and alow them to follow the

⁴⁰ *Twelve Months*, p. 82.

arrangement agreeable to age settled at first. Neef might have retained 40 and you perhaps 30 as a number round which more might have been gathered either by taking orphans or trusting to the good sense of those without the influence of O's sermons, for at last I believe it is too soon to attempt any beneficial reform in education with Children under the control of their ignorant Parents, and I must be forced to make all my tryals with them that have none to warp their natural faculties. But I confess I would much rather make those tryals 100 miles from all the above [?] visionary, frustrated schemes of Mr. O. at Harmony than so near it as to be interrupted by the vicinity of so much discordant materials, but having already advanced 35,000 dollars to the school community, for which they have got a property, tho valued at double it would have sold for in cash, yet it is a property that under proper management may save considerable outlay of money, and may be the focus of most of the little communities that Mr. O. may be forced [?] to make when he is undeceived in his town communities, which will be as soon as he has no more money to waste on them; for as to the Schools formed on Mr. Owen's parrot principles, they cannot possibly deceive even the ignorance he has surrounded himself with.

You praise much the suppleness of Mr. O. but forget that it is all in words, that has done much in France and other polite airy countries, but you seem tottally to neglect his actions which are like the laws of the Medes & Persians unalterable. Tho he has failed in every attempt, yet he returns on the selfsame ground to be certainly defeat again, as he will be in this metaphysical, contradictory system of education, which looks just as if he had been affraid of the independence and success of the School Community and resolved to involve it in the general wreck.

You seem to think that no community will succeed but under his management. Quite the contrary is the fact. All have failed by following the blaze of his wild theories without possessing the wealth which alone has supported him. They, like him, immagined that all would be done by money, and neglected industry, the only possible foundation on which cooperative Societies can stand. Mr. O. in sermons and words is the most supple of the human species, and the most obstinate in action. He is likewise the most vain. Every blunder he commits is a master stroke of policy that could not possibly have happened better. But let us leave him to himself, and try to escape the wreck he has surrounded himself with.

You have unfortunately mistaken in your imitation of him. He rants in big vague and and undefined words, out of

which he has always many holes to creep thro', but you have committed yourself in an unconsiderate action without sufficiently examining the consequences both to your favorite system and to your self. What can you do with the boys of from 6 to 12 years, or even with the girls? What an incongruous mixture! Admitted that all the carelessness of Neef's School and his helpers were true, which I much doubt, it was not the way to correct them. Your way was to shew them an example of order, cleanliness and propriety in your 30 infants, that they might and no doubt would have imitated.

I cannot blame you for having been deceived in the charracter of Mr. O., for all the deceptions of my life put together did not amount to the stupidity of the last. And it was owing to the neglect of a general rule in regard to judging of him by his motives, wheras thro life I have always supposed men's motives equally selfish and judged them wholly on their actions. But it is not too late. What I have at stake I can lose without being ruined, and I'm decided not to augment the risk by any farther advance but for the conducting of the Schools on rational principles that has no resemblance to Mr. O. general, universal, imperial and sweeping principle, which might suit a Bonapart in the Zenith of his power.

I must repeat that the cooperative System has rose in my esteem and strong conviction of its utility in exact proportion as the positive conviction of Mr. O's mode being the ruin of it for some time in this country, and that he has been working hard to defeat his own views, like a traveller that gets on wrong road, the further he goes the further he is from being right.

Take time. Do nothing in a hurry nor anything you cannot easily undo. Always recollect that 50 dollars a year is as much as either you or I can eat. Restrain all ambition as the straight [?] road to misery. Tho O. and I can never act together, as I have long told him, we need not oppose one another. Our roads are seperate and distinct. Tho he has (unconsciously I believe) ruined some of my plans for the present, they, I flatter myself, are so deep rooted in the interest of the great mass that they must eventually succeed. And notwithstanding of your opinion of Neef and family I think by their help I shall be able to prove what I have been long speculating upon, that children under proper tuition will educate, feed and cloth themselves by their own industry. . . .

There are two things that never give me the least uneasiness, what I can help and what I cannot help. Now make your mind easy on its being intirely out of your power to make Mr. Owen & I

to act together, or to invest any more of my property in his schemes. What I have I believe I can yet do some good with, as certainly as I think he will spend all his without benefiting any but the most useless of mankind. Don't be disappointed at the late events. They cannot hurt or endanger your future prospects. You could have a school any where, independent of communities, that Mr. O. has for the present given the death blow in this country by his rash precipitation. He has passed the Rubicon⁴¹ but carried none with him. If it was possible to make him silent for one year it would do more good to his system than all its friends have done since it was thought of.

Make yourself as happy as you can. Avoid giving pain to any one, and above all curb ambition. Achille [Fretageot] is well, and Mr. Say is sorry for the differences between you, but thinks, like a Philosopher, all may still be well. He is out hunting Insects.

I remain yours sincerely

WM MACLURE . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY,
19 SEPTEMBER 1826

DEAR MADAM

Your letters of the 25 August & 8 Septemr received. You accuse me of believing in my ears and being deceived by the stories told me by those you suppose your ennimies. I only believe what you said you intended to do, and now what you attempted to do against the opinion of the whole of the School Community, who are as independent of me in regard to their management of their own affairs as they are of Mr. Owen or any other individual. It was fearing the interference of Mr. O. that induced me to render them independent of such tergiversation by advancing them the funds.

What a necromancer must that Mr. O. be that has so bewitched you! When I merely mentioned the propriety of indulging his folly in spheres, globes, maps &c. for the purpose of taking the Children off the street and out of mischief, you were in such a rage as to wish yourself back at Philadelphia, and were only prevented by your effects being on the way from New Orleans, which you might miss. Now you seem to prefer the parrot method of sticking incomprehensibles into the memories of Children as you would do pins into a pincushion, to the Pestalozzian System

⁴¹ Owen used the phrase in his second educational discourse, on 13 Aug. *New-Harmony Gazette*, I, 374 (16 Aug. 1826).

as taught by Mr. Neef, who I have reason to believe by experience has taught it in greater perfection than ever it was taught before. Neef, like all men, has his failings, but as a teacher he has made more clever men for the number he was allowed to educate than I believe ever came from any School on earth. This is not visionary theories of stars, spheres &c., but positive and usefull practice. By following all his pupils into man's estate, and judging of their correct conduct, only two out of seventy have gone astray, and one of them only so upon the faith of a step mother, which I have found not exact. What a weather cock you must have thought me to sacrifice 30 years' experience to the whims & caprices of a visionary who has failed in every attemp he has made here to improve adults and is now trying his hand on Children with most probably the same success.

Who was it that took your Children from you but O.? Who disgusted the people with the Pestalozzi system to render Neef unpopular but O.? Who laid schemes and intrigued to get the control of the School Community but O.? Who imployed you to revenge himself on Neef because he was the only man in Harmony that told him the truth of his Parrot system, but O.? Who is now trying to join the School community to his debilitated communities, to sweep all into the vortex of ruin and destruction, but O.?

What a humiliating situation your ambition and love of power has brought you to, to be indebted to parental coercion for the only vote, apparently, in your favor, R[ober]t D. Owen, who in his last letter to me professed not to interfere and tho he promised you two posts has not written since. He is perhaps ashamed and unwilling to contradict the gratitude he feels for your nursing in his sickness.

Suppose for a moment that all about rags, filth, gormandizing &c. were true, who gave you authority in the state of perfect equality of rights and duties to interfere with the duties of others? Who had the power to make you lord god and governor of the community? When you signed the deed you were all equal.

The Chief has changed his mind by swallowing every second word he has pronounced in this country, and finds that nothing but monarchy or despotizm can make men happy. Be it so. But you was at least imprudent to practice on his theory, which he will abandon the moment he finds it won't go down in this country, and leave you unprotected to your fate.

All this I take from the contents of your owen [own] letters, without mentioning . . . the hard words and contemptuous language your passion prompted you to hold to your companions

and equals of the School Community, or the many other things that come to us from all quarters, part of which may be exaggeration in retaliation for your violence. But as they have all written to me I must answer them, and I cannot help expressing my satisfaction at the manly open manner the whole members of the community (except one who by the ties of relation was not to be supposed free) resisted all usurpation under whatever authority it may have been sanctioned.

You deceive yourself much in supposing that I'm guided in this by what I hear. Had your own letters not sanctioned all, from your former conduct I could not [have] been perswaded that you would have thus acted. For sometime I have endeavoured to value everything by its utility, and I acknowledge that you have been heretofore exceedingly usefull in improving education, and it's with much regret I'm forced to think that following the course you propose you will cease to be of that utility that you have been or that you are capable of. And of course it would be sacrificing every thing to loose the cooperation of those whose long practice and imminent qualifications render them so necessary to the promotion of such schools.

But let us hope that you will think better of it and not throw away the occasion of being usefull to your fellow beings. Had you read my numberless letters you must have seen that none of the actions of Mr. O. met my approbation, and that least of all this last explosion, which, tho I dreaded it by former hints, I scarce expected he would have been in so desperate a hurry. But desperate precipitation is perhaps the cause of most of his blunders, concerning which it is unnecessary now to mention.

I'm sorry for the sickness of F. Wright. If she had been with you she would most probably have hindered you from exposing yourself and the System to much obliquy and damage.

And I remain more sincerely than ever your friend

WM MACLURE . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, LOUISVILLE,
25 SEPTEMBER 1826

DEAR MADAM

Your last letter of the 15 Septem[be]r gave me much pleasure, when combined with R[ober]t D. Owen of the same date, informing that all cause of dispute had happily subsided, and that your School as well as Phiquepal's was to commence on Monday next after the date, which, if I recollect well, was on the 18th. The whole appears to us at this distance from the field of action to

have arose from a misconception of one another's opinions and motives, kept up and by the great exaggeration and malignant falsehoods of some go between who supposed he had an interest in the probable result of your quarrel. . . . His complete disappointment I hope will prevent repetiation [repetition], against which you must be constantly on your guard. . . .

I'm however exceedingly glad to learn that the inhabitants of No. 2⁴² are improving in their cleanliness, which proves that there can scarce happen any evil without some good. And if it could possibly be the means of preventing all of us from acting when under the influence of anger and passion it would forward more the cooperative system than all the sermons that have been preached this last 2 years.

We perhaps have reason to conclude by the late opperations, which involved the best heads in Harmony, that even the best informed are very far removed from that friendly feeling, that mild complacent temper, which the theories of the Chief infuses so strongly in his lectures, but which I'm affraid his acts does not better support than those rulers of the old system who are constantly telling us to do as they direct, not as they do. Vain people may flatter themselves that they have got the better of all selfishness, but it's only a proof of there inordinate vanity, which many great men carry so far as to hate and detest all who differ from them even when they tell them the truth, and take council only from those weak insignificant beings who flatter all their foibles, whims and caprices. Let us hope there are but few such spoiled biped at Harmony. . . .

In all these changes, charracters are flashed into view and disappear on your field of action like the change of a scene on the theatre, and make some believe it is all a farce. We are told by most people here that you had left Harmony in disgust and that all was a c[h]aos waiting for the creator to produce order out of confusion.

A young married lady that came here from Harmony boarded in this house and insisted on washing, ironing &c. all her own and her husband's cloths as she was accustomed to do at Harmony, a better example of some little good in practice growing out of this deluge of theory than anything I have heard either before or since I left you.

Patience, patience, is a substitute for all the virtues. Never be in a hurry is the motto of the Shaking Quakers. Don't repine

⁴² House No. 2, where Neef conducted his school.

because you have not 80 or 90 children. The fewer you have the more perfect [?] will they be educated, and no one will inquire on examining their progress how many pupils you had. Your School is not known to one in a hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Union, nor has any of you taken the smallest pains to let it be known. I have been deterred from speaking positively of the advantages by the fear of revolutions on your volcanic soil. Wait the next turn of the wand of the Chief with his sphere in hand. The last movement dashed to ruin all your community expectations, the next turn may dash them all back again. . . .

Patience, things will find their level. The materials in this country are not the same as the cotton spinners at New Lanark, nor does the advice of a patron go so far. The most ignorant of them both think and act in more cases for themselves and may be deluded by qua[c]kery for a little, but when they bring things to the scale of common sense and utility they can and will judge.

Give yourself no uneasiness about the fate of the Schools. As soon as you have all organized you will have pupils enough. Be united and don't allow the most dextrous intriguer to enter his wage [wedge] between you. I fortold the fate of the prairies and the cut off mile societies.⁴³ Fear I will be too true a prophet respecting the ultimate result of some others. But those things we cannot help and must leave them and practice the system that experience has proven to be the best that yet has appeared. . . .

Mr. Tybout [Cornelius Tiebout] with his family joins the School Society and will be ready to forward his work on fifth [?], for which purpose he had better find a place for the printing press and get all ready the types; maybe get from Cincinnati what is wanted. Young ———⁴⁴ or some other will teach the boys to sett Types, for I'm determined to push science as far as I can in the School community, as the theories of which they have the greatest need as a foundation for these metaphysical, astronomical, spherical system of O[wen], of which as the education of children I have a more despicable opinion than of the most absurd part of the old system. It is too ridiculous almost to reason upon, both as being without the reach of all there senses and depending on faith in the *ipse dixit* of the master, and its being of little or no utility after you have twisted and tortured the memories of the

⁴³ By the "cut off mile society" Maclure perhaps means the Mechanic Society, for the gristmill (which was presumably part of its operating equipment) was located at the cutoff on the Wabash River. See Lindley (ed.), *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, pp. 430, 543.

⁴⁴ The name is left blank in the manuscript.

youth with a farago of uncouth names, for which it is ten to one if ever they have occasion during life time. But we must let him go on. All that we have to do is to educate those entrusted to the Schools in such a manner as to be an example to all that examine them, which I have no doubt the present teachers are fully capable of.

I remain yours sincerely

WM MACLURE

P.S. Am sorry to learn Miss Wright's indisposition. Hope she has recovered and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing her on our arrival at Harmony, which may be in 6 or 8 days after you get this.

IV. OWEN AND MACLURE REACH AN OPEN BREAK

October 1826—May 1827

ON 7 OCTOBER 1826 William Maclure returned to New Harmony, accompanied by Thomas Say. During his four months' absence he had been fully informed of happenings at the community, and observation promptly showed the accuracy of his forebodings.

The experiment of dividing the New Harmony Community by occupations had failed, and Owen was busy with the fourth major reorganization in nine months. On 17 September he had proposed a fresh start, and by 2 October (five days before Maclure's return) the new society, still called New Harmony Community No. 1, had come into existence, superseding the Agricultural and Pastoral Society, the Mechanic Society, and whatever remnants of earlier organizations still existed in the town. The new frame of government—a "covenant and agreement" rather than a constitution—vested "sole management and control" in a board of five trustees, including Owen himself and four appointees of his. Admission of members to the new "trust," as it came to be called, was not automatic, and Owen and his fellow trustees began that weeding out of undesired inhabitants which Maclure had long recommended. Maclure believed this to be a step in the right direction, but radicals like Paul Brown could apply to it no terms milder than "despotism" and "star-chamber." Even Maclure was forced to admit the justice of Brown's charge that "partiality found its way into this distribution," whereby "some favorites and the families of trustees were indulged with conveniences, [whether of clothing or provision,] which other laboring, drudging poor were denied."¹

¹ Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 76 (brackets his); see also pp. 61-67 for an account of this fourth reorganization and the text of its covenant and agreement. Maclure's references to partiality on the part of the "trust" are in his letters of 28 Nov., and 22 Dec. 1826, below.

The two communities of Macluria and Feiba-Peveli held aloof from this fourth reorganization, but their situation offered little hope that the new social system would be realized on their domains. A fortnight or so after Maclure's return the members of Macluria deposed three of their councilmen and advertised that they would not be accountable for contracts made by the displaced authorities.² The factional strife of which this was the outward manifestation brought this community to an end within a month. Only at Feiba-Peveli was there a semblance of harmony, but the cohesive force that kept them together until March 1828³ was apparently not so much Owen's doctrine as the national self-consciousness of the English farmers who had established the colony.

The news of the Education Society that had reached Maclure during his absence had been disconcerting, but the last group of letters had reassured him, and he returned to New Harmony determined to push its work vigorously. One obstacle, at least, was gone, for Owen's grandiose plan of educating all the inhabitants of the community together, in triweekly meetings at the Hall, had already been abandoned.⁴ On the other hand, Maclure's plans were handicapped by the continuing rivalry between his teachers. Three separate schools were being conducted—one by Phiquepal in the Steeple House

² Public notice, dated 24 Oct. 1826, in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 31 (25 Oct. 1826).

³ The dissolution of Feiba-Peveli can probably be read into the legal notice published after a meeting of the community on 8 March 1828 at which an agent was appointed "for the transaction of all business relative to the Community." *New-Harmony Gazette*, III, 167 (19 March 1828). A month later fire destroyed a building "hitherto occupied by Community No. 3." *Ibid.*, 199 (16 April 1828).

⁴ Owen's plan was adopted by vote on 20 Aug. 1826. According to Paul Brown it "went on perhaps six weeks"; according to Robert Dale Owen, "a month or two." *Twelve Months*, p. 41; R. D. Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), p. 288. The ambiguous phraseology of the *New-Harmony Gazette* tends to confirm this. The new programs "have commenced," reported the *Gazette* on 11 Oct.; "an experiment has been made," said Owen on 11 Nov.; "arrangements have been formed, by which, soon, all the children of the Community will be educated together," announced the *Gazette* on 29 Nov. Volume II, pp. 15, 63, 70.

and the Hall (the old Rappite churches), another by Neef in Community House No. 2, and the third by Madame Fretageot in Father Rapp's old mansion, now called Community House No. 5. Moreover, the latter was not confining her efforts to infants, as Maclure had recommended, but was conducting a boarding school for the young men of Owen's community and a day school for children of both sexes and all ages.⁵

Nevertheless, Madame Fretageot was less under the influence of Owen's educational theories than Maclure had at first supposed, and he was accordingly willing to accept the situation as he found it. Confident of the future of the educational enterprise, but anxious to give it greater legal security than the agreements with Owen afforded, Maclure spent part of his time at New Harmony in drawing up a petition to the state legislature for an act to incorporate the "New-Harmony Education Society." It was introduced in the subsequent session, but was overwhelmingly rejected by a senate distrustful of the heterodox views that prevailed at New Harmony⁶—probably not to Maclure's surprise, for he did not bother to comment on the disappointing outcome in his correspondence.

Cold weather was approaching, and Maclure's health required a warmer climate. After only seven weeks in New Harmony he departed on 25 November 1826 for New Orleans. While he waited for a steamboat he communicated to Madame Fretageot the reports that were circulating in Mount Vernon, the county seat.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, MOUNT VERNON, INDIANA,
28 NOVEMBER 1826

I have written my Brother [Alexander Maclure] a long letter which he will show you, and I must trust you for the mediator between Mr. Owen and the School community, for from all I have learned here, where a great many of community No. 1 came last

⁵ See Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 82; "Pelham Letters," p. 414; and Madame Fretageot's letter of 2 March 1827, below.

⁶ See *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 62, 157, 158-59 (22 Nov. 1826, 14 Feb. 1827); *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1826-27, pp. 181-82.

Sunday, things are far from being in the state Mr. O. flatters himself they are. He has established certain aristocratic families who have every thing at the store they want, some of them as far as 6 or 8 fine ladies' dresses during the short time he has formed his last trust, which is the object of jealousy, distrust and discontent to all the rest. Even in our small society certain ladies by not doing any of the drudgery caused the discontent and dissatisfaction which is doing 100 times more harm than all their labor at lessons can possibly do good; for it is clear that if one is exempt from the hard labor when they have time, all has the same right; and it's too soon for the women of the society to understand the utility of education. Untill they do, all must participate of what is called manual labor, that is Cooking, Washing &c. . . .

Could you contrive to give some lessons to the mothers as well as the Children? From what I have learned here Mr. O. would willingly have all his Children taught more exactly in the New Lanark system (that is by faith rather than observation) than he finds you willing to do, for which purpose a boarding house was to be got up under Mrs. Ashworth, to follow implicitly his dictates. But, as the story goes, Mrs. Ashworth goes up the Wabash with her brother in law, and it's probable he cannot find another woman (easy as he is to please with all that pretend to favor his schemes) that he thinks anyway capable to fill the place.

Everything I learn here would convince me that the store has been feeding and clothing the whole Society. I hope it's not true, but something that dropped from him about the want of money rather confirms that he has already spent the greatest part of the 15,000 dollars, partly by selling his goods 50% cheaper than they can be got elsewhere. From here they send to Harmony for all their groceries and goods when they have cash, because it is the cheapest shop in the whole country.⁷ And I'm told, tho I have not been in it, that the store is most empty. These are serious truths. He must not depend on me for more than the ballance the School Corporation will owe him next spring, as, at the rate he has expended, my whole fortune would be engulfed without bringing him one iota nearer his purpose. On the contrary, the more he has to spend, the further he will be from success. He may retaliate on my schools . . . but I don't mean to spend any more than my revenue in future and shall not touch the capital.

⁷ Paul Brown made an opposite charge, that the store was "retailing goods at extortionate prices much higher than those of any other trading houses in the neighboring country." *Twelve Months*, p. 120. Maclure's statement seems the more credible.

He has got nearly $1/2$ of all I possess but shall not get any more. He seems to me under an infatuation like the dogmas of religion, incomprehensible.

I got some faint hopes from one that knows well his whole establishment, who thinks there is not above $1/4$ good for nothing and rather injurious to the community system; I should have supposed $3/4$. The same man thinks his perseverance will get along. If he can pay the expence he may in the end get men fit for a community system, which with proper management he might have had at first without expending anything. In short, his situation as it appears upon mature reflection is a melancholy one, and is one of the more . . . [foolish?] men on the Globe by being so positive of his superiority as to require nothing to found unlimitted confidence upon than a perfect coincidence with all his opinions, which few but rog[ue]s and hypocrites would even pretend to. I most heartily wish I may be wrong in all my conjectures, but I fear the worst. Robert [Dale Owen] & William [Owen] ought to acquire some positive knowledge of the situation of things before their father leaves them, as he intends in the spring; otherwise things will go worse than my most gloomy supositions can make them.

My experience at Harmony has given me such a horror for the reformation of grown persons that I shudder when I reflect having so many of my friends so near such a desperate undertaking. I wish you were 1000 miles from them, amongst the Indians or any where out of their reach. They will torment you for the pleasure of doing evil. But I shall hope your force of mind will rise superrior to all your tryals.

I have given both Say and my Brother warning to keep a watch on the conduct of Phiquepal, who in destroying the only smith's shop⁸ will paralyze the utility of the Cuttler that is comming. For the purpose of cutting off his boys from all intercourse with the rest of the Community, and by that proving his detestation of the ground work of Mr. Owen's system, sociability, by making monks of them. He is a dangerous mad man, who can influence so many men . . . to support and indulge him in all his whims and caprices with the sweat of their brows. But Vanity is at the bottom. He is, I think, the vanest man I ever knew. And when that Vanity is disappointed he will go to bedlam. . . .

⁸ According to Paul Brown, Phiquepal had made a kitchen and eating hall of the "brick building," which, after his later eviction, "was *again* to be converted to a blacksmith's shop." *Twelve Months*, p. 117 (*italics mine*).

From Mount Vernon Maclure took the steamboat down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, where he arrived on 20 December 1826. He stopped en route to inspect Frances Wright's community at Nashoba, Tennessee, but the letter he wrote describing it has unfortunately disappeared.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW ORLEANS,
22 DECEMBER 1826

I wrote you a long letter from Mount Vernon. . . . I likewise wrote to you from Memphis giving you an account of the state of Miss Wright's plantation and the excellent order, regularity and economy she had established with her black population,⁹ which would be a melancolly contrast with the contrary I left at Harmony. And I intended adding something I had learned concerning the errors of Mr. O's administration at Harmony, but the Tecumseh steam boat passing prevented me.

1st. Impossible to fix the uncertainty of his population untill they produce as much as they consume, for untill that time they must all expect that Mr. O's finances must at last fail and they be thrown out into old society, for which they must be perpetually preparing by collecting, perhaps pilaging, all they can, without the smallest confidence in the System or its principles, Mr. O's surrounding circumstances being beyond their comprehension.

2dly. The above indispensable result is much retarded, if not totally frustrated, by the ignorance of those he has chose to direct the whole, ordering the occupations to change their trade, sending the Shoe makers, Tanners &c. to dig potatoes &c., not only occupying them in a less profitable work, but disabling them for many days from working effectually in their trade by spoiling their hands and rendering them unfit for some time for their usual occupations.

The great fault found by the members is against the partiality shown to the trust and their families, so contrary to all the theories of the sociable system. . . .

Discouraged though Maclure might be at the state of affairs in New Harmony, he had lost none of his hope that education

⁹ Frances Wright's community at Nashoba, Tennessee, her connection with New Harmony and with the *Free Enquirer* (the successor of the *New-Harmony Gazette*), and her marriage to Phikepal in 1831 are fully discussed in William R. Waterman, *Frances Wright* (Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, CXV, no. 1, New York, 1924), and A. J. G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson, *Frances Wright, Free Enquirer* (New York, 1939).

might ultimately produce a new and happier social order. As one means to that end he meditated on the possibility of making industry itself attractive. The idea had been hinted at in the letter of 16 March 1826 to Benjamin Silliman reprinted above, but it was developed at greater length in his correspondence from New Orleans. Quite possibly Maclure was influenced by Charles Fourier, who had already developed in France an elaborate philosophy of social reform based upon the concept of "attractive industry." In any case, a letter of Maclure's from Mexico in 1830 contains the earliest known allusion to Fourier in any writing produced in the Western Hemisphere—antedating by nearly a decade the propaganda campaign of Albert Brisbane which made Fourierism rather than Owenism the most influential socialist doctrine of the 1840's in the United States.¹⁰

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW ORLEANS,
26 DECEMBER 1826

. . . I have long conceived the idea of so arranging instruction as to catenate [catenate] pleasurable sensations to the exercise of all the usefull and necessary occupations of life, and rendering our existance a constant amusement, while it put us on the most certain, easy and nearest road to independence, as one of the principle ingredients of happiness. How it is to be accomplished is a little beyond my ken. As a new thing it must be found out by various practical experiments, and, like most other information that changes antient habits and customs, may succeed better by example than precept. I have practiced on myself with complete success, for all my present pleasures and gratifications were acquired by habit, none of which were even in the rank of pleasurable amusements untill I was past 30 years of age.

Perhaps all the common occupations of women, such as Sewing, Cooking, Washing &c. can be transformed into an amusement

¹⁰ "Did you ever hear from Fourier of Lyons, the author of the two volumes on education?" Maclure to Madame Fretageot, undated fragment, written on the stationery that Maclure was using in his dated correspondence only between February and October 1830, from Mexico. The allusion is to Fourier's *Traité de l'association domestique-agricole* (2 volumes, Paris, 1822). See Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "Albert Brisbane—Propagandist for Socialism in the 1840's," in *New York History*, XXVIII, 128-58 (April 1947), especially pp. 137-39.

by early habits, and might be the best mode of erradicating that false pride that lowers the charracter of the being so much beneath the dignity of his nature as to attach consequence or disgrace to any occupation that is usefull either to himself or others. . . . What harasses and torments the female population of Harmony, and no small portion of the males, but that base sensation of attaching consideration to the action in proportion to its uselessness and extravagant cost, and disgrace and shame to all occupations that are positively usefull, necessary and even indispensable to comfortable existance. . . .

These meditations were interrupted by more immediate tasks. In a letter of 29 December 1826 Maclure informed Madame Fretageot that he was sending copperplates and a printing press to the New Harmony School, and remarked that "Lesueur's must be the work that begins the Harmony scientific publishing," because Say's cabinet of materials was still delayed. But at the same time he worried about the future even of that enterprise, and expressed the fear that Owen's "agregate of incurables will poison the little energy there may be among our society."

The danger was more immediate than that, however, for Owen was beginning to call in question the arrangements he had made with Maclure concerning the lands and buildings occupied by the Education Society. Less than a week after Maclure had left New Harmony for the winter, the *New-Harmony Gazette* had published the following ominous paragraph, written presumably by Owen himself:

ROBERT OWEN [?] TO THE "NEW-HARMONY GAZETTE,"
29 NOVEMBER 1826¹¹

. . . Another cause of some dissatisfaction among the members of the Education Society, arose from misconception among them as to the best line of separation between their lands and those of the other Societies. They thought some other line, giving them more land in a particular direction inconvenient to their neighbors, was necessary for them: however, a little reflection will convince

¹¹ Volume II, 70. Paul Brown reports that the statements "were said to come from the pen of Mr. Owen the elder." *Twelve Months*, p. 79. There is no reason to doubt that this was true.

them of this error,—there being more land than is requisite for ten other Communities; and whenever they are prepared to require more for cultivation, it can be obtained without any difficulty. It deserves not a moment's consideration whether one Society has a little more or a little less land at the present, provided a line shall be adopted, that will prevent them from interfering with each other's principles, objects, and arrangements. Shortly each member of all these Societies will discover, that they have but one and the same interest. These little matters, creating some temporary difference of feeling, being once adjusted, the rapidity of our progress will be much accelerated.

This statement was highly disingenuous. The line had been fixed by written agreement, and the Education Society insisted that the dispute had arisen solely because "several months after the bargain had been struck, Mr. Owen wanted to have back some of the land.—This claim of Mr. Owen, and not our misconception of the lines, produced the dissatisfaction above mentioned. . . . We thought, think yet, and shall go on thinking, that Mr. Owen ought to adhere to his contract and leave us in quiet possession of the land ceded to us."¹² Their protest, however, was refused publication in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, and they promptly informed Maclure at New Orleans.

This was a threat to the whole material foundation of Maclure's plans and to the investment he had already made in the schools. On many previous occasions Owen had set aside agreements made with the communities formed on his estate, but in these instances no genuine consideration had ever been paid him, and the enterprises were admitted failures when the agreements were canceled. Neither argument applied to the Education Society, and Maclure's reaction to the news was prompt and emphatic.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW ORLEANS,
3 JANUARY 1827

. . . I have been long in the habit of foreseeing every possible unfortunate event that could happen, on purpose to have time to

¹² Statement of Joseph Neef in behalf of the Education Society, printed in Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 80-81.

prepare for them and contrive some remedy before the evil comes, when it is then too late to find out all the resources within reach. Following this old habit (which you may call a bad one) I have been contemplating the possibility of a quarell between Mr. Owen and me, which will certainly take place if he persists in the declaration he has so often made of annulling the Lease, that solemn contract made and executed before witnesses after being read in a audible voyce to the whole party, and insists that his son R[ober]t D. Owen, yourself, Applegath, Neef and all the party who signed after him swindled him out of it. And even one of his favorites, when we left Harmony, the backwoods lawyer [Amos] Clark, who has got him so hoodwink, . . . is a party to the deed.

If he attemps any such retraction I must hold to the Lease he has assigned me for 49,000, on which I have paid 38,000, 7 years before it was due, and shall follow it in every article or condition, that is, not to pay one cent more before it is due. In that case it will be imprudent to attemp the cultivation of any land with such hostility in the vicinity to break down the fences and ravage all the crops both by 4 feeted and 2 feeted animals, and even our Gardens and orchard would not be safe from so formidable an attack that pigs and members of an enraged Community might make by night[l]y degradations. In that case we must be confined to the walls of our Schools, which it is a pity we ever went without them. For the Schools I will try to support, even after all the expences [?] we burthen'd them with, of mecanics, farmers &c. are dissolved for want of occupation, for it was trusting to the good sense of Mr. Owen and his communities that caused us to proceed on so great a scale, but I fear by this time you will be convinced that we were trusting to a broken reed.

Mr. Owen ought to consider that the most of his friends on both sides of the Atlantic treat his schemes as visionary, and not one mortal in existance can have the smallest confidence in his mode of proceeding, nor for a moment conceive it possible that he can change the confirmed habits of adults in 10 times the length of time his enthusiazm allots for it. But he seems to be like all wild schemers, both in morals and merchandize, totally to neglect surrounding circumstances and only keep in view a figure of the immagination, an *ignus fatuus* which in the end must lead him far from his purpose.

In the fortunate event that none of those great causes of disputes shall arrive, to prevent the minor causes of difference it is necessary that you keep an exact account of the time when the

children come to your day school and the number that attended, and that you have an account of children you might have had before they took them all away, with the cloths of any they took with them, all of which Neef ought likewise to do. And my brother, assisted by Mr. Say or some other, ought to take an exact account of all the buildings No. 1 Communities have occupied, which the Schools paid for, and how long they have so lodged in them, charging them rent at 10% on the prime cost of the buildings, with conditions to keep them in repair. It may be positively necessary to prevent our loosing all the furniture that are in the different houses belonging to the schools that an inventory be taken of all. . . .

It may perhaps be thought that propagating the Pestalozzian may injure our Schools at Harmony, tho I think different. Diffusion being my aim, could wish all the Schools in the Union on the system. Besides, if every experiment was to cost what that at Harmony will, it's but few that my means would enable me to try, and I should much thank those that would take the rough riding off my hands and wrangle with the ignorant mothers. . . .

P.S. I forgot the compliments of the season and hearty wishes that this New Year may be more propitious to our favorite pursuits than the last, which has been certainly worse than sterile by falling into the train of an individual who flyes too high and expects, as he wishes, to bring paradise down on earth too quick before anyone is fit for the great change. But we must endeavour to make the most of it, tho I believe if you had stopped at Philadelphia last winter you would not have been yet working like a slave at Harmony to thankless people who don't know the good they get by you.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW ORLEANS,
8 FEBRUARY 1827

. . . However I'm mortified by the folly of the community and their legislation, it is only meant to put a stop to such extravagance in the future without in the smallest degree deranging my peace of mind or reflecting by way of blame on the past, for it was full as much my fault as theirs, in putting it in their power to throw away so much of my property, and was entirely in immitation of Owen and his circumstances. And I shall now immitate him in taking all under my direction and not permit anything to be done untill my consent, or the agents I may intrust in it, is given.

I perceive that the madman Phiquepal, under the supposed protection of Mr. Owen, is worse and worse, and that nothing will

satisfy him but the an[ni]hilation of our natural history. . . . His aversion to sciences of which he is perfectly ignorant (which is the greatest part of the most usefull) will permit [?] him to destroy the industry of men whose little finger is worth his whole body, by ruining our collections because his knowledge can't reach them. In this he is similar to his protector, who won't encourage anything but what he supposes he was the first to practice, and, being totally ignorant of the natural sciences, would obstruct education and destroy it entirely by depriving it of everything usefull and natural. But all this anti sociable system must be resisted, and I shall not suffer a cent more of my property to be so wasted.

If I had $1/4$ part of the money and $1/4$ part of the collections that has been made use of at Harmony, I could do more to reform education here in 1 month than I can in 1 year with the stubborn materials at Harmony, under the direction of a madman and supported by the Chief. But stopping now the squandering any more of my property, I have enough to make future experiments under more favorable situations and with more rational materials. . . .

I have long suspected that Mr. O. would take Phiquepal into his communities. . . . In that case, unless he pays the value of all I lent to his schools or was bought with my money, he must not be permitted to take them. He has made a store room in the loft of the Church where he has deposited what he calls his, little or none of which belongs to him, as I never gave him anything to himself but a gold watch and a quantity of stockings and other cloths, which, with all the cloths (and not a little) he bought with my money, and the books on medicine, I don't claim. But all the prints and other books & instruments I must claim as my property, being only lent to him, like the house at Paris, to make the experiment, in which I consider he has completely failed, by being of such an irritable bad temper and worse habits, which render him intirely unfit to teach. . . .

'Tis a doubt wither the immense prejudices, not to say a kind of horror, excited against Mr. Owen's natural marriages and other theories will permit the schools at Harmony to get any schollars from abroad this year. We must therefore curtail our expences and keep them as near the limmits of our production as possible, for it will not serve any purpose to waste money on a useless establishment that can benefit, like Phiquepal's teaching (even if it were good for anything), only a few boys whose Parents scarce no [know] the value of the education we are at such pains and expence to give their children. . . .

I repent having sunk so much of my property at Harmony because I could have done so much more good with it, and where all Mr. Owen's population are spoiled, and no good can ever come out of them. He has taken the wrong methode at least 8 times during his apprenti[ce]ship, and tho' perhaps his present organization is better, it is intirely rendered nugatory by the injudicious choice he has made of his agents and those he entrusts, being men of no practical knowledge from their previous experience or, as he would say, from their surrounding circumstances in which they have been floating, for fixed they never were anywhere, and they are much to[o] old to learn. His application to my Brother for more money gives me the history of his communities, that they are living upon his money yet, under various pretences. But he must not depend on me for more than the amount of what I bought from him, or rather what the School Community leased from him, part of which I have paid him thinking it would help him, but I fear all will not do, and I must stop and go no further.

He is the most obstinate man I ever knew. It's that obstinacy that I fear for our schools. He has not the smallest idea of a good education and will not permit any to flourish within his reach. His parot education to exhibit before strangers as at New Lanark is the whole he knows. He is, like all enthusiazts, determined to carry his point *cout qui cout* [*coûte que coûte*, i.e., cost what it may] and will sacrifice every other consideration for it. Now the truth is, his System, to the extent his theories carry him, is impossible with the present generation, and his experiments will most probably end when his money is finished.

He is no practical man himself, nor has he any about him, nor ever can, as the moment a man is independent to differ from him he discharges them, and has nothing but time serving sicofants about him. He missed [?] Caleb Lowns, who is the most practical man for managing any public undertaking I know in the United States. He likewise lost the aid of Neef, who would have saved him 40,000 dollars in the purchase of New Harmony. More than that he was cheated by Rapp for want of a man of knowledge of the local circumstances of the country to aid him. You'll say all this is not his fault. I don't blame him for it, only to show that we would be fools to trust to such an inexperienced Pilot who will not change but persevere [?] to the last. . . .

With the letter just excerpted, Maclure began to use enormous folio sheets of stationery and to include in a single missive all the ideas, related or unrelated, that he wished to

communicate to his various colleagues at New Harmony. His final letter from New Orleans was frankly a miscellany, in which thoughts were jotted down as they occurred to him, perhaps over a considerable period of time.

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, NEW ORLEANS,
24 FEBRUARY 1827

. . . PHIQUEPAL. I'm glad to learn that Mr. O means to settle him and his boys on Community No. 2.¹³ When he gets him on his own pocket [?] he will find the utility of him. I don't think it very delicate in Owen to encourage him to dissipate my money, . . . which is all he has been doing ever since I knew him, for which I have reaped nothing but disappointment and the disgrace of spending my money on a madman. Examine what he has done except bring into disgrace all connected with him. At Paris in place of educating the pupils he had to be usefull in the Schools, he treated one half of them so harshly that they left him, and the other half are unfit for any serious employment, full of caprices and whims like him self. . . . His transactions at Harmony are on record. What has he done but wasted my property? Has he been 1 cent benefit to the Schools? Is he now of one 1 cent benefit to the School Society? On the contrary, is not all his actions as much in contradiction to common sence as to the interest and reputation of the schools? I forgot the cutting out the prints from my most elegant works on natural history, and disfiguring some thousands of my prints by cutting off all the margins so that they cannot be handled without putting the fingers on the figures. The damage he has done to my property would require volumes to retail [?], but the good I should be much obliged to any one who could inform me of any, as it would be some alleviation to my mortification on being such a fool as to be the dup[e] of such a madman. . . .

The paragraf in the *National Gazette*,¹⁴ tho only a garbled part of a letter, was all true. No man in his sences can see the connection

¹³ According to Paul Brown, "Mr. Phiquepal, the teacher, was, by order of Mr. M'Clure, excluded from the church, where his pupils learned trades, and likewise from the brick building. . . . He thence retreated to a room in the house No. 1, in which by sufferance of Mr. Owen and his agents he kept his school." *Twelve Months*, pp. 116-17. Maclure's statement that Phiquepal was settled "on Community No. 2" cannot be correct, for that community, otherwise known as Macluria, was by this time extinct.

¹⁴ See pp. 347-48, above.

between the Community system and either of the speculative opinions, the trinity of evils, or the 1st year of mental independence. It was quite on the old system of beginning where they ought to have ended. That letter was written in answer to a desponding letter asserting [?] that the best friends of the system must now give it up, to prove, as far as my logic could go, that it had nothing to do with the practical part of the system and was merely speculative opinion that I thought and think still was premature and will do some harm and could not possible do any good except to the self conceit of Mr. O., who was in a hurry to be the first to proclaim a new erra. Tho I certainly did not intend it for publication, nor do I think it was the individual to whom I wrote who published it, but was confident of a friend who took advantage and put it into print. I have written to him to publish the whole letter, that contains as good a defense of the proclamation as perhaps has been yet propounded, for it's all a mere theory that cannot be practiced in perhaps some ages. And I have always thought that the practice ought to have preceeded the theory, not alarmed the present race (up to the throat with prejudices) with the promulgation of principles that cannot for a long serious [series] of years come to the relief of any of the sufferers.

You are perfectly correct in thinking it a new scheme that it is difficult to know how to act and for that very reason caution in going slowly and trying upon a small scale by way of experiment, presenting the small end of the wage [wedge] not forcing the but[t] end against inveterate prejudices. The present race are perhaps unfit for it, which shows the necessity of teaching the rising generation to think by a usefull and practical education. . . .

Neef is old and stubborn but has done much good and is still capable of doing much more. Don't addopt Mr. Owen's opinions on that head. He is a prejudiced person who likes to have his foibles flattered, of which Neef is incapable. It is that which attaches him, contrary to his common sence, to Piquepal. . . .

You must not concur (notwithstanding the powerfull example of O.) that I have taken up the good opinion and confidence in Neef on slight grounds, or the bad opinion and tottall distrust of Piquepal['s] talents, abilities and solidity as a man and a teacher, or the lowe state I hold him as a moral agent ; and have no hesitation in predicting that before they know him half as long as I have, or support his pecuniary extravagance 1/5 of the time, they will all be of my opinion. . . .

Lesueur's work upon fish most probably must come out first to occupy the engraver and printer untill Say's Cabinet [arrives],

concerning which I have heard nothing. He has enough of copperplates already engraved to fully occupy the printer and collorer. He has not yet said, nor perhaps examined, how much of the 505 dollars advanced Mr. [Cornelius] Tiebout was for collors, materials &c., and how much for expences. The blew and yellow paint, not having a small package to put it in, must wait untill I come, which will be between this and the first of April. If he has neglected to order his Cabinet to be shipped so long as that it will arrive here after I'm gone, I shall leave the best directions, but cannot guarantee their care, for the indolence and negligence attending slavery is in great perfection here. . . .

In defending the community system it is impossible not to throw some blame upon the manner Mr. Owen has conducted all that he has undertaken in this country, fo[r] he has succeeded in no one of his plans of which he spoke so confidently that in a few months all would be arranged. Had he given out his schemes as experiments that must be tryed and changed so as to suit circumstances, of which all were yet ignorant, no one would have had any right to blame him, and then for his own interest he should have made the experiment upon a small scale and with the best materials that could have been found. It is the system, and not the mode Mr. Owen has chose to put it in execution, that the world or the friends of mankind or themselves are interested to support. We are all egotists, and Mr. O. amongst the rest, but few except Mr. O. has any particular interest in advocating the particular mode he chose to put forward his new system. . . . No man of common sence could have been in favor of any change in Society that did not rest on its own merits, and not on the talents or abilities of any individual. I think better every day of the system in the exact proportion that experience has convinced me that Mr. Owen is not the practical man to make it succeed. He's being obliged, after two years' experience to discharge 150 of his materials that he has been surrounding with his infalable circumstances,¹⁵ and I query very much if those that remain are any way fit for cooperative society, as all their instruction has been to consume not to produce, money having been substituted for industry, negligence for care, wastefulness for œconomy. But it's a disagreeable, not to say a mortifying, subject.

¹⁵ Paul Brown refers to 1 Feb. 1827 as "Doomsday," when "about twenty heads of families received what some people call 'walking papers.'" *Twelve Months*, p. 85. Owen himself described the proceedings in a letter to James M. Dorsey, New Harmony, 6 [?] Feb. 1827, unpublished MS. in Indiana Historical Society Library.

P.S. The month of my lodgings will be finished the 20 of March, when I shall embrace [?] the first good steam boat for Mount Vernon, so you need not write, as I shall be gone before it can arrive. I'm tired of a slave country, and shall most probably go farther south to avoid it next winter. . . .

You must let Neef take his own way because he is too old to learn. . . . Union and concord in instruction destroys competition and reduces all to a level. I know it's a cro[t]chet in Mr. Owen's brain to reduce all things to his scale of measurement, but seeing what use the Catholic teachers make of that harmony, as they call it, to render all the schools equally useless, for it's the constant complaint against those who have adopted any of the Pestalozzi methode that it destroys the harmony of the schools, the music of the spheres. I wonder with whom . . . Phiquepal is in harmony? It would be difficult to find any one in concord with [him] on earth or the waters under the earth, as the old book says.

Go on steadily, but don't take so much on yourself. Let the young ones work. All you should do is to teach your helpers. In doing so you will be of more use in instructing one to do something like what you do yourself, than teaching 20 children. Neef in his long letter blames me for being persuaded by you against him. I answered in a paragraf to my Brother that for a long time I took knowledge from every one, but advice from none.

Maclure did not in fact return to New Harmony until two months after the date of this communication, so he had time to receive another letter from Madame Fretageot, the only one of hers for the year that is now extant.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
2 MARCH 1827

DEAR SIR,

Your letter dated 28 January received yesterday. You have I suppose received the letter in which I give an explanation of a plan for the direction of the School here. The more I see of Neef the more I am convinced that he is not the man you speak so highly. His schollars have been influenced by thousands of circumstances since they left him. Let us look and investigate what he has done with his own children. Victor and Louisa have been under his particular care, he says himself that they are the result of his instruction. What result! The former is a dull thoughtless being, the other so found of reading novel that she

would forget to eat and sleep; both are unfit for their situation. Mina is active, work much but without principle. When exhausted by an excess of several hours of hard work, she would allow herself to let every thing running down with a perfect quietness untill, her spirit raising again, she begins anew, always with the same thoughtlessness. The others are growing under the very same principle; add to those defects the most vulgar manners and there is the result of Neef's education.

When you say that I shall send Achille to him to get the foundation of thinking; really it is just as if you were to tell me to send him to the Hindoos to get the knowledge of the Christian religion. Neef himself is the most thoughtless creature that I know; if he had not his wife he would not have a penny and a shirt for his use. What are then the principles of thoughts? Is it speculative imagination? Or is it that knowledge which enables human beings to render them useful by their exertions, their activity?

If Say was only occupied with the dissection of his Insects, I would consider him just as I do with Tro[o]st and Lesueur. They are shut up in their cabinet, the former with speculative Mineralogy, the latter with the collection of Fish, Shells, Birds, Drawings, perfectly useless to the happiness of humankind. Yet calculate the expense they carry with them and tell me what benefit will arise from their work to the present and even the future generations. That is the case with all Scientific people. Their knowledge is not only useless (because there is no application of it) but hurtful; it carries the mind astray, in fact it is false knowledge. The only one that I know who has been useful in Mineralogy is yourself because you have applied it to its true application. Now, Phiquepal is an enthusiast. I know it; and shall not send back Achille to him. However, if he was directed he would be of some utility. You know that Chemistry rose from Alchimy, and those that were in search of the Philosophical stone made several discoveries that are very useful. It is really the case with our man, but he is incapable of making use of the things that he finds out.

My school is going on pretty well. The twelve young men are now entirely in the House. They board and sleep here; their progress are very obvious as well in their study as in their manner. I get up regularly at four o'clock. The lessons for that class finishes at half after six, they go their different occupations till eight, they return for their breakfast; and at nine to eleven the class of the children under twelve; at two o'clock the same children till four; at six all the children above twelve, including

the boarders, till eight. The other hours I am occupied cooking for the whole family. I may say that I have but very little the occasion of wearing out the chairs of the house, having not a single female to help me. The whole work is made by the boys when they return from their work. The two little Sistare¹⁶ are gone last week with Cousin Douglas. I need not to tell that I feel their absence very much, after having had those children nearly six years with me; but such are the effect of ignorance; I expected it.

Mr. Owen is now arranging [h]is population in such way that they must provide for themselves or quit the society. I think he has taken the only mean to ascertain exactly what are truly the useful ones, and we may conjecture that it will raise the mind of the leazy when they are compelled to work for their own support. Robert Dale [Owen] is now and will be a man of a superior mind. The more I am acquainted with him the more I am convinced of his superiority. . . .

I really wish for your return on account of the school. It cannot stand as it is. I repeat that the whole must be under the same regulation, and if Neef is to stay I leave the whole altogether because it is quite impossible that I can ever agree with him. I am preparing teachers that will understand me. If I am to direct they will be ready for the time. Consider that seriously and have your decision ready for your arrival. It is quite time to act upon these principles for the sake of the children.

I remain your Most affectionate,

M. D. FRETAGEOT. . . .

Maclure must have been dismayed by Madame Fretageot's letter, with its evidence of her irreconcilable antagonism toward Neef and her apparent acceptance of the antiscientific views of Phiquepal. But an even more serious danger was threatening his educational enterprise when he reached New Harmony on 20 April 1827, the danger that the imprudence of his colleague, Owen, might wipe out his own financial investment.

An installment of \$20,000 on the original purchase price of New Harmony was due the Rappites on 1 May 1827. About the time of Maclure's return Frederick Rapp came to New Harmony to receive the money and to secure, if possible, ad-

¹⁶ Lucy Way Sistaire, the third sister, had married Thomas Say on 4 Jan. 1827. *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 119 (10 Jan. 1827). Compare Maclure, 11 Aug. 1826, above.

vance payment of the remaining installment of the same amount, due a year later. Owen agreed to discount the latter note, and then applied to Maclure for funds to meet the payment of \$40,000, less interest.¹⁷

The time had obviously come to define and permanently settle the financial obligations existing between the two men. Owen still insisted that theirs was a full partnership and that Maclure was liable for some \$90,000 more.¹⁸ Maclure, on the other hand, insisted that he owed Owen a maximum of \$21,000—that is, \$11,000 on the lease to the Education Society and no more than \$10,000 as “forfeiture” on his guarantee of Owen’s losses.

Maclure proposed a compromise that would settle the matter for good and all. He would pay the remaining \$40,000 to the Rappites if Owen would give him a deed in fee simple to the property the Education Society had been using. Owen was willing to give a deed in place of the previous lease, but only if restrictions were embodied in the conveyance itself providing that the real estate should “be applied to the benefit of children on the property, and be for ever preserved to promote the objects of the social system.”¹⁹ Maclure’s purposes were as

¹⁷ The two principal sources for the financial controversy of April-May 1827 are Robert Owen, “Address . . . at a Public Meeting, held at the Franklin Institute in . . . Philadelphia, on . . . June 27, 1827; To which is added, An Exposition of the Pecuniary Transactions between that Gentleman and William Maclure,” taken in shorthand by M. T. C. Gould, reprinted (from a pamphlet) in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 353-54 (15 Aug. 1827); and Paul Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 97-98. William Maclure himself made no public statement. The present narrative is based on these two contemporary accounts, interpreted in the light of the letters of Maclure printed above, and of the documents cited on pp. 334-36 above and in the footnotes immediately below.

¹⁸ This was the amount he claimed in the litigation with Maclure. See p. 393 and n. 20, below. Owen believed that he and Maclure were obligated to invest equal amounts. Maclure had already put in \$38,000. See his letter of 3 Jan. 1827, above. Owen therefore believed that Maclure’s total investment, in order to match his own, should be approximately \$128,000. According to the estimate I have given, pp. 335-36, n. 17, above, Owen had invested at least \$140,000 at New Harmony by this time. He was therefore not asking Maclure to match certain of his own expenditures.

¹⁹ Owen, “Address . . . June 27, 1827,” *loc. cit.*

disinterested as Owen's, but he had had enough of Owen's vague and high-flown rhetoric, and he refused to be entangled in it any longer.

It took drastic measures to force a solution. Maclure paid Rapp and obtained from him the bonds that represented Owen's indebtedness for \$40,000. Having thus become Owen's creditor, Maclure filed suit against him, sending Thomas Say to Mount Vernon as his agent. At the same time, on 30 April 1827, he gave public notice that he was not responsible for any transactions that Owen "may have done, or may attempt to do," in the name of their alleged partnership. Owen replied by giving public notice that the partnership was "in full force," and by filing a counterclaim for \$90,000, which he felt was due from Maclure to the partnership account.²⁰ The legal maneuvers—such as Owen's successful eluding of the sheriff—were sufficiently picturesque to keep the community agog and to obscure for the general public the purpose of the litigation, which was simply to settle Maclure's financial liability. This end was speedily accomplished by the appointment of two arbitrators, who immediately fixed Maclure's remaining indebtedness to Owen at \$5,000.²¹ Payment was made the next day, and on 3 May 1827 Owen gave Maclure an unrestricted deed to 490 acres at New Harmony, the sum of \$44,000 being named as the consideration.²² The deed

²⁰ Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 97-98; Owen, "Address . . . June 27, 1827," *loc. cit.*

²¹ Taking into account Maclure's payment to Rapp, the arbitrator's award was approximately \$45,000, exactly half of what Owen had claimed. The consideration stated in the deed of 3 May 1827 (see next footnote) was \$44,000. This suggests that Maclure received a discount of \$1,000, or 5 per cent, from Rapp for paying in advance. Owen asserted that he had struck a bargain with Rapp which called for a payment \$500 less than Maclure actually made, but for this there is no supporting evidence. Maclure's previous advances to Owen, totaling \$38,000 (see his letter of 3 Jan. 1827, above), were apparently written off by all parties; he thus shared the losses on the New Harmony Community to that extent. See pp. 335-36, n. 17, above.

²² Posey County, Indiana, "Deeds," liber D, p. 390. The plat of this property was not recorded until 18 Feb. 1842. Liber L, p. 65. Pending the relinquishment of Mrs. Owen's dower rights, Maclure received as security

was recorded on the 23d, and on 27 August, when the Posey County Circuit Court convened again, the various legal actions were, on motion, dismissed.²³

The litigation and subsequent settlement constituted a clear-cut break between Maclure and Owen so far as their financial relations were concerned, but the significance of the episode can easily be exaggerated. Owen barely alluded to it in an address he made the following Sunday, 6 May 1827, though he dwelt at length upon other differences with Maclure. A week later Neef wrote a vitriolic reply to Owen's address, but made no allusion to the lawsuit.²⁴ Only when Owen went East and discovered what a nation-wide furor the episode had created did he feel it necessary to discuss the subject publicly, which he did on 27 June 1827 in Philadelphia. There was some bitterness in his charge that Maclure "is sometimes unfortunate, and the state of his mind becomes irritable, and his feelings are worked up by those around him, into such a state very much beyond rationality."²⁵ Aside from such personalities, however, Owen's statement was not particularly intemperate, and Maclure took no notice of it.

In these comments of 6 May and 27 June, Owen made it clear that he considered the fundamental issue to have been one of educational policy. This interpretation seems correct.

from Owen a mortgage, dated 30 April 1828, on additional property. Liber E, p. 56. On the same day Owen borrowed \$4,500 from Madame Fretageot, as agent for Maclure, on another mortgage. Liber E, p. 59. These transactions are mentioned in the correspondence of Maclure and Madame Fretageot, 12 Dec. 1828 to 8 April 1829, below.

²³ Posey County Circuit Court, "Order Book," liber C, p. 172. The cases were *Thomas Say, assignee, v. Robert Owen*; and *Robert Owen v. Wm. McClure* [sic].

²⁴ Owen, "Address . . . on Sunday, the 6th of May, 1827, in the New-Harmony Hall," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 254-55 (9 May 1827); Joseph Neef, "A Letter to Robert Owen, Concerning his Valedictory Address," printed in Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 106-16. Brown wrote a reply of his own to Owen, dated 25 May 1827, in which he did discuss the lawsuit, but contemptuously, as a "squabble about individual property, between two rich men." *Ibid.*, p. 127; the entire letter occupies pp. 118-28.

²⁵ Owen, "Address . . . June 27, 1827," *loc. cit.*

From August 1826 on, Owen had been anxious to supersede Maclure's schools with others more in accord with his own ideas. Owen's scheme for regular classes in the Hall for all the inhabitants of New Harmony had fallen through, as had his plan for a separate school under Mrs. Ashworth, mentioned in Maclure's letter of 28 November 1826. But his effort to seduce certain of the teachers from their allegiance to Maclure's plans had apparently succeeded in the case of Phiquepal and had come close to success in the case of Madame Fretageot. Moreover, the restrictive clauses that Owen was arguing for in April 1827 in the proposed deed to Maclure touched upon educational matters, and could have been interpreted as giving him some control over the policy of Maclure's schools.

In any case, educational policies were uppermost in Owen's mind at the time of the lawsuit, and immediately afterward he lashed out at the Education Society, in effect blaming it for all the failures at New Harmony. "If the Schools had been in full operation," he said on 6 May 1827, "upon the very superior plan which I had been led to expect, . . . it would have been, I think, practicable, even with such materials, . . . to have succeeded in amalgamating the whole [population of New Harmony] into a Community. . . . But, in consequence of the unlimited confidence which I place in these individuals to execute this the most important part of my plan, in a very superior manner, you all know how much I have been disappointed."²⁶ And his parting shot, before he left New Harmony on 1 June 1827, was to turn over three thousand dollars to the former treasurer of Miami University, James M. Dorsey, newly arrived at New Harmony, to set up a complete set of schools in opposition to Maclure's.²⁷

²⁶ Owen, "Address . . . 6th of May, 1827," in *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 254 (9 May 1827).

²⁷ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 279 (30 May 1827); see also II, 353 (15 Aug. 1827). Dorsey's arrival is mentioned, *ibid.*, II, 270 (23 May 1827); Owen's departure, II, 286 (13 June 1827). Owen gave instructions concerning the schools in a letter to Dorsey, New Harmony, 31 May 1827, MS. in Indiana Historical Society Library.

Owen's gesture was an idle one, for the communitarian experiment at New Harmony was already moribund. The "trust" established in October 1826 had succeeded in weeding out members, but had utterly failed to create a working community. Late in January 1827, therefore, Owen had announced still another policy—his fifth reorganization, if such a term can be applied to the chaos that then reigned and continued to reign. The idea of establishing a community in the town of New Harmony was frankly abandoned. Instead Owen offered to lease lands in the surrounding territory to any group, however small, that would organize itself as a community on his principles.²⁸ At least one speculator, William G. Taylor, from Ohio, saw his opportunity, and Community No. 4, which was announced on 21 January 1827 under Taylor's auspices, proved a gigantic swindle.²⁹ Other projects were so tiny as to be insignificant or failed to materialize at all. Though the *New-Harmony Gazette* had in effect admitted failure as early as 28 March 1827,³⁰ Robert Owen clung to his illusions and on 27 May 1827, five days before his departure, delivered an address "to the Ten Social Colonies of Equality and Common Property, Forming on the

²⁸ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 206, 255, 278-79 (28 March, 9 and 30 May 1827); Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 83-86, 92-94; R. D. Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), p. 289. This was the reorganization referred to in footnote 15 above.

²⁹ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 142, 207; III, 375 (31 Jan., 28 March 1827; 17 Sept. 1828); leases, Owen to Taylor, 13 Jan., and 14 Feb. 1827, in Posey County, "Deeds," liber E, pp. 35-39; *Taylor v. Owen et al.*, decided 1 March 1828, in Posey County Circuit Court, "Complete Record," liber B, pp. 485-500; subsequent suits by Taylor and Owen against each other, listed in Posey County Circuit Court, "General Index to Civil Causes"; Brown, *Twelve Months*, pp. 83-85, 96; letter from Richard Owen, quoted in George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York, 1905), p. 156; data collected in 1842 by A. J. Macdonald, "Manuscripts and Collections" (Yale University Library), pp. 535-614, quoted in Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, pp. 47-48.

³⁰ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 206-7 (28 March 1827), editorial written by William and Robert Dale Owen. See R. D. Owen, *Threading My Way* (New York, 1874), pp. 288-89.

New-Harmony Estate.”³¹ It was a *tour de force* in the use of the future tense. Only two responsible organizations were actually in existence—the Education Society and Feiba-Peveli. The town of New Harmony was numbered among the ten, though Owen himself admitted that it would “remain sometime longer as a training school, before it can be made a part of a regular and full community.” The remaining seven comprised Taylor’s “Community No. 4,” the vacant buildings of defunct Macluria, awaiting new tenants; a log cabin where four families huddled together as a community; a cluster of three or four German families three miles south of the town; and three scattered huts inhabited by single families, each ranking as a colony of equality and common property.³²

³¹ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 278-79 (30 May 1827); see also Owen’s address of 6 May, *ibid.*, 254-55 (9 May 1827), where he speaks of “eight independent Communities, . . . exclusive of Mr. Maclure’s . . . and of the town of New-Harmony.”

³² See Brown, *Twelve Months*, p. 122.

V. EPILOGUE

WITH OWEN'S COMMUNITARIAN experiment ended and the title to his own property settled, Maclure saw clear sailing ahead for his educational venture. His stay in New Harmony from April 1827 until near the end of the year was the longest he ever made there, and during that period he perfected the organization of his School of Industry. Pursuant to ideas he had outlined earlier to Madame Fretageot, he decided to try out his educational plans upon orphans. On 14 May 1827, less than two weeks after the settlement of his lawsuit with Owen, he advertised that he was prepared to receive "a few of both sexes, not under the age of twelve years," into his "Schools for the instruction of Orphans in all useful knowledge as well as in the useful arts."¹ That there might be no mistake about what he considered useful, he prepared an essay "On Education" that ran through twenty-five weekly installments in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, from 20 June through 5 December 1827.²

The scientific and publication programs also went forward as Maclure had planned. By 29 August 1827 the complicated task of establishing a scientific press—co-ordinating research, engraving, printing, and hand coloring—had been successfully completed, and the first advertisement appeared: "Proposals for publishing, by subscription, a work on the FISH OF NORTH AMERICA,—with Plates, drawn and colored from

¹ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 263 (16 May 1827), repeated in subsequent issues.

² *Ibid.*, II, 292, and subsequent installments to III, 68. These articles were reprinted, with order slightly altered, in Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects*, I, 48-124. Despite his generosity in furnishing space, the editor of the *Gazette* confessed that he had "no personal knowledge as regards the progress either of the Society [for Mutual Instruction] or of the School [of Industry]." And he concluded his curiously aloof editorial by saying, "We cannot doubt the ability of Mr. Wm. Maclure, . . . who projected and supports the school, which he is pleased to call the 'School of Industry at New-Harmony,' to redeem the pledge he . . . gives to the public" in his advertisement. Volume III, 70 (5 Dec. 1827).

Nature, by C. A. Lesueur.”³ A scientific journal had been under discussion as early as January 1827,⁴ but it was a year before the first number issued from the press on 16 January 1828. The plan had been altered somewhat, to emphasize “practical education” as well as science, and the resulting *Disseminator of Useful Knowledge; Containing Hints to the Youth of the United States—From the “School of Industry”* was something of a hybrid, attracting less attention than it deserved in the two fields it covered. In the history of New Harmony, however, its establishment was an event of considerable significance. By this time the *New-Harmony Gazette* had ceased to be an organ of socialistic reform, and with its transfer to New York in March 1829 (under the new title of *The Free Enquirer*), the *Disseminator* was left as the only mouthpiece of the New Harmony experiment. The experiment itself was now Maclure’s alone, dedicated ultimately to social reform, but committed to the use of educational, not communitarian, means.

Though the experiment was Maclure’s, he could not remain in New Harmony to conduct it himself, for his health required a milder climate. He had sought this at New Orleans in the winter of 1826-27, but slavery was distasteful to him and the next winter he went to Mexico. He was back in the United States again in 1828, but from December of that year until his death he was almost continuously a resident of the republic to the south. For the carrying out of his programs at New Harmony he depended upon Thomas Say and Madame Fretageot. The former guided the scientific work and edited the *Disseminator*, but Madame Fretageot became the responsible business administrator of the enterprise. On the eve of Maclure’s first departure for Mexico he gave Madame Fretageot his power of attorney, dated 7 December 1827,⁵ and three years later, in a letter of 1830 to Say, he reiterated his

³ *New-Harmony Gazette*, II, 375 (29 Aug. 1827), advertisement, repeated in subsequent issues. Six weeks later the prospectus of Say’s *American Conchology* was similarly published. *Ibid.*, III, 7 (10 Oct. 1827).

⁴ “Pelham Letters,” p. 415.

⁵ Posey County, “Deeds,” liber E, p. 260. It was recorded on 27 May 1830.

confidence in her. "I am determined," he wrote, "that she shall have the management of my affairs at New Harmony while either of us lives."⁶

Owen's ceaseless activities caused Maclure and Madame Fretageot little concern. His debate with Alexander Campbell, co-founder of the denomination of Disciples of Christ, and his visionary Mexican scheme brought the three into contact briefly. Owen was in New Harmony in the spring of 1828. Early in 1829 he was in Mexico where he saw Maclure, and was again in New Harmony prior to his debates with Campbell in Cincinnati in April.⁷ But neither Maclure nor Madame Fretageot was in a mood in 1828 and 1829 to heed his outpourings. Across their winter skies he flashed like a meteor, distracting their attention for only a moment from the mundane concerns of the school and the press that Madame Fretageot was managing at New Harmony and that Maclure was watching with benevolent interest from Mexico.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
10 OCTOBER 1828

MY DEAR FRIEND

I received yesterday a paquet of letters from Paris by Mr. Irving, in which he congratulates your good judgement on your present opinion of Mr. Owen[']s system, and also on your present school. . . .

F[rances] Wright is oblige to go immediately to Nashoba. . . . She goes with her sister and Mr. [Robert L.] Jenning[s]. The last his [is] a good being but no steadiness, in fact no head.

⁶ Quoted in Weiss and Ziegler, *Thomas Say*, p. 142. See also pp. 136-58.

⁷ See his own account in *Robert Owen's Opening Speech, and His Reply to the Rev. Alex. Campbell, in the Recent Public Discussion in Cincinnati, to Prove That the Principles of All Religions Are Erroneous, and That Their Practice Is Injurious to the Human Race. Also, Mr. Owen's Memorial to the Republic of Mexico, and a Narrative of the Proceedings Thereon, Which Led to the Promise of the Mexican Government, to Place a District, One Hundred and Fifty Miles Broad, Along the Whole Line of Frontier Bordering on the U. States, under Mr. Owen's Jurisdiction, for the Purpose of Establishing a New Political and Moral System of Government, Founded on the Laws of Nature, as Explained in the Above Debate with Mr. Campbell* (Cincinnati: Published for Robert Owen, 1829).

Every one of the No. 1 do not possess altogether reunited that portion of good sense so necessary in every undertaking. It seems that [they] do not see the advantages under their eyes but that they are looking towards every thing but their own interest. I had yesterday a long conversation with them. They came to consult me about their business. I told Frances the best for her is to sell her plantation. As she cannot manage it herself, she cannot expect to find one that would do it with the same interest. To Jennings, that if he wishes to succeed he must be steady. And as he has but one schollar he can choose some boys in the town and begin a class that will give him credit when some persons will come to visit his school, and that is the only way he has to inspire confidence. But if he runs about and spend the little money he has, he will never succeed. To Robert Dale [Owen], that he and his brothers should work to their printing office and spare by that means about 1000 dollars a year, to reduce their expenses, sell their horses, they are young enough to walk, &c. This advice that I gave came from their complaint about Phiquepal. They cannot manage him, and he means to manage them. In fact, they are in a dreadful confusion. I do not expect they will understand my advice. They laugh heartily at it and said it would be good for me but they had higher views than that. Well, my friends, said I, I know that I am a booby, but I shall not be hanged for that. . . .

Yours,

M D FRETAGEOT

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
12 DECEMBER 1828

. . . Robert Dale [Owen] has received a letter from his father, who was to leave England the 16th of Oc[to]ber and probably will be here in the end of this month. . . .

I have received last week a letter from Marietta, on account of the *Sylva*, by Mr. S. P. Hildreth⁸ saying he can procure several suscribers from that town and environs; answered him that if he procures 20 there will be one for him. I have no doubt it will succeed. . . .

Mr. [Cornelius] Tiebout will try this week to draw some prints of the trees for two purposes, first try the plates, and 2d to give to our boys the possibility of exercising themselves before hand

⁸Samuel Prescott Hildreth (1783-1863), of Marietta, Ohio, physician, naturalist, and historian of the Old Northwest.

for the painting of it. I will have about 200 on our common drawing paper, it is to say 25 plates and a dozen of each, to give them a fair opportunity to learn.

[P.S.] I hope you will not be in a hurry in establishing a free press or any thing in a country [Mexico] that requires some years longer before it be settled on a sound foundation. And also there is yet not one of our pupils positively capable of any undertaking of some importance. And you mean to succeed, remember that it will be only when it will be put in the hands of those that will be thoroughly brought up in our principles, and two years will enable several of them to any thing.

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
9 JANUARY 1829

I wish, My dear friend, that this letter could reach you before the arrival of Mr. Owen in Mexico. Yesterday Robert [Dale Owen] came to me with a letter of his father informing him that Messrs. Rothschild [*sic*] and Baring being possessors of an immense tract of land in Texas territory, have intrusted him with the power of forming Community on the said land, and have directed him to Mexico to consult with the government on that subject. The immense riches of those two individuals cannot be better employed than that. Whatever may be the success, it will at least start the population in a country much in want of it; and if the management is not as good as to insure the success, yet the principle of it cannot fail to strike the prejudices out of the minds of those who will be collected there together if the undertaking takes place. In viewing the subject under that point you may feel incline at least, not to prevent it, and for the sake of public interest. Now it will be something for private one, I should not be sorry if he were engaged busily some hundred miles affar.

He announces also that he brings with him money enough to settle his business with you and Frances [Wright], having sold all he had remained of his share at New Lanark. Says he will be returned in March to keep his appointment with Campbell at Cincinnati in April. As I suppose you will meet each other in your rambling about, try that I do not meet with difficulties at his return in settling our affairs. It should be easier if he returns satisfied with you. Better the quarrel be between him and me, it is of no consequence; but it is, between you two. . . .

MACLURE TO MADAME FRETAGEOT, JALAPA, MEXICO,
28 JANUARY 1829

On Thursday the 22d January Robert Owen pop[p]ed in on us at the French hotel at Jalapa, from London by Saint Domingo and Jamaica in the Brittish packet landed at Vera Cruz, bound to Mexico, to whose government he has addressed a memoir published in most of the Brittish prints, requesting the State of Texas to make his experiment in, with all his usual enthusiasm tho I think a little abated of his certainty of success in practice.

This unexpected visit did not astonish me so much as the strong recommendatory letters he had to all the authorities of this country from all their ministers in London, as well as introductions to all the ministers here from the men in power in Britain. He was particularly recommended to the Bishops who from his success, as he says, with those of England he has great hopes of convincing them that it is their interest to patronise and support the new order of things he wishes to introduce, founded on what he calls the divine laws of nature that man is the child of circumstances and has neither the forming of his moral or physical existence.

So long as he stops at theory all will do well. But should he attempt practice, the second edition of New Harmony will most probably be published to the world contradicting his theories and bringing loss and disapointment on all that have placed faith and confidence in him.

He says that Birkbeck, Brougham⁹ and all the other liberal reformers are preparing the public for his great change as fast as the knowledge of the day is capable of understanding their doctrines. I have been trying to show him how far his system is in advance of any of theirs, and what an immense chasm of misterious space (incomprehensible to those who are to benefit by it) lays between his radical cure of all evils and the partial remedy of the most prominent, oppressive and irrational habits whose reform is contemplated by the other reformers in both

⁹ Henry Brougham, later Baron Brougham and Vaux (1778-1868) had done much to make Fellenberg's ideas known in England through his testimony before the parliamentary Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in 1818, at the time Owen's public propaganda was beginning. His extensive efforts for educational reform in the 1820's included association with Dr. George Birkbeck (1776-1841) in establishing the London Mechanics' Institution (later the Birkbeck Institution) in 1824, an outgrowth of courses for workingmen that Birkbeck had inaugurated in Glasgow as early as 1800.

Church and State; that this moral chasm ought to be considered as a physical ditch drawn round the old Castle of antient prejudice, not only impassible in itself in the present state of knowledge, but fortified by all the instruments of defence invented by all the talent and acumen of both church and state for many centuries. He always returns to the fine finish it would make in society, and neglects like all enthusiastic speculators the means of accomplishing.

He seems completely disgusted with the U. S. and rather thinks Britain a fitter field than any to be found with you, where he will most probably return after preaching a little the principles of his system, which he has organized into a complete code of laws, rules and regulation, which only awaits the knowledge of the millions to put it in execution, as I am affraid he will never get the help of the governors of either church or state to assist him.

Mr. Owen says he has sold all his own as well as his sons' shares in the cotton mills at New Lanark for a good price, and has given orders to Robert Dale to draw for and pay off our mortgage and Miss Wright's. R[ober]t Dale will of course draw on Britain and pass his drafts at Philadelphia or New York and give you a draft on his agent there for principle and interest, which I hope will be in time to pay my note of hand to Rapp for 3,666 67/100 due the 24 April. I told him Mr. Hall charged 125\$ for drawing the two mortgages &c., and that it was the custom in all countries for the one who received the money to pay the expense of the deeds. He talked of an agreement concerning which I knew nothing, not being present, but in this he is the Old Man to pay nothing he thinks he can avoid. . . .

[Allen] Ward has been occupied this few days in copying Owen's reasoning that he is to have with Campbell. In case of accident to him they may be sent to R[ober]t Dale, who is to take his place, for he seems at present decided to be punctual to his engagements with Campbell, and seems to promise himself great advantage from that mode of publishing his opinions to the world. . . .

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
30 JANUARY 1829

No letter yet, My dear friend. It seems a century since I have heard of you. Our little place furnishes some news that you must have. Frances Wright has made wonders in her preaching at Baltimore, Philadelphia and specially New York. It is decided that they will transport their establishment in that last town. Robert Dale is going there for helping an institution on the plan of Epicurus in Athens, as well as the continuation of his paper

under the title of *The Free enquirer*. Thus we lose them all, and if I am not mistaken it will prove beneficial to our establishment in removing the public opinion from our place. And the spreading of liberal principles abroad will smoothe our ways. The younger part of the family seems to be destined for Cincinnata where a like institution is to take place, but it is not yet decided when. . . .

MADAME FRETAGEOT TO MACLURE, NEW HARMONY,
12 MARCH AND 8 APRIL 1829

March the 12th, 1829

. . . When I was informed of Mr. Owen[']s plan toward Mexico I wrote to you immediately in order that you would not be so much astonished but my letter did not reach you before his arrival. . . . Mr. Owen told you that there were arrangements between him and me concerning the payment of Mr. Hall. Certainly there has never been any such thing between him and me. He certainly makes some dreams about that. . . .

April the 8th, 1829

I began this letter 3 weeks ago and since that time I have been so much engaged that I could not spare a moment to finish it. Since that time many things have happened that I did not expect.

First Mr. Owen arrived the 30th of March, . . . remained here a few days and went immediately to Cincinnata to meet Mr. Campbell. I will inform you with his success or his defeat according the effect produced in the public mind. He did not give me the relinquishment of his wife, and the Mortgage will remain in my hands until I have it in good condition. I cannot say if he says the truth when he pretends that it has been sent long before his arrival, but what I know well is that it has not been received. . . .

I think that all the copper plates are here. I have counted upwards 1300. Tiebout has already began cleaning and repairing them, and will continue until it is finished. I do not know if we will be able to print soon any of them, because I think better to go on with the *Sylva*. I have about 30 or 40 suscribers, and my intention is to have only 100 or 150 coppies, that will be enough. . . . If you could find a certain number of suscriber in Mexico, I could have it easly translated in Spanish and then we could have an edition in that language. . . .

Our school goes on and the town begins to have a much better spirit. They begin to say that there is only those that live in our side that thrive the best. Having occupied several of them at the fence, tho I paid low wages yet as they had their money

every week they were much satisfied, and wish that I could always employ them. Our boys work steadily, and if every thing is not yet as I wish, however it is better every day.

The fence is most finished in spite of the severe winter we have had, which lasted till the 26 of March. This has been much against me, as I could not engage the land without knowing if I could have the fence finished in time. Now I have two ploughs, one with our oxen and the other with the horses. Then I will plant as much corn as possible this year in order to put the land in good order, and next I will rent it on good term. As we do the whole most by ourselves, the crop will pay the expences or nearly so. The orchard has been trimmed very well in the course of two months work and has cost 28 dollars. In fact I do what I think the best. The result will show if it is well.

And remain with much affection yours

M D FRETAGEOT

In this laborious but peaceful atmosphere Madame Fretageot continued to direct the educational enterprise at New Harmony for another two and a half years. On 4 November 1831 she bade farewell to the community where she had served longer and more continuously than any other leader in the New Harmony experiment. After spending a year in Paris she sailed again for the New World, this time to visit Maclure in Mexico. Her last letter to him, dated from Vera Cruz on 17 February 1833, expressed her hope of seeing him "as soon as possible." That her hope was gratified seems certain, but her visit was of short duration, for she died in Mexico City sometime in April.

New Harmony was Madame Fretageot's monument as truly as it was Rapp's or Owen's or Maclure's. The wise management she had given at the outset enabled Maclure's threefold enterprise to function effectively throughout the succeeding decade, and to spread its influence beyond. Maclure, who lived until 23 March 1840, had the satisfaction of witnessing much of this. The School of Industry was supplemented in 1838 by the Workingmen's Institute, and educational ideas radiated from New Harmony to good effect throughout the state. In science New Harmony retained its eminence for at least a

quarter of a century, despite the death of Thomas Say in 1834. In the field of publishing its achievement was unique. Lesueur's work on fish, the first great project, was never completed, but Thomas Say's *American Conchology; or, Descriptions of the Shells of North America*, began to issue from the School Press in 1830, while Madame Fretageot was still in New Harmony, and went forward steadily until the seventh and last part appeared four years after its author's death. Not until 1841 was the *North American Sylva* of François André Michaux published, in three handsome volumes with 156 colored plates. Though Maclure had died in Mexico the previous year, this publication was his conception, planned fifteen years before when he brought to America the copper-plates of the original edition. And it was a work that could never have been carried to successful completion save for the labors of Madame Fretageot, from 1828 on, in gathering subscriptions and in co-ordinating to productive ends the effort of scientists, printers, teachers, and pupils at New Harmony.¹⁰

One great labor of love the School Press performed—the republication in three volumes of Maclure's contributions to the *New-Harmony Gazette* and the *Disseminator*. These *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers*¹¹ have been generally, though unjustifiably, neg-

¹⁰ See Maclure to Silliman, 2 May 1825, p. 323, n. 4, above; and Madame Fretageot's letters of 12 Dec. 1828 and 8 April 1829, above.

¹¹ Variants among different copies of this work indicate that it had an irregular publishing history. From internal evidence the following narrative can be reconstructed. Volume I, with a title page dated 1831, was completed in [iii] + 480 pages, but was not originally issued separately. Instead the School Press went on with the printing of volume II, supplying an undated title page, and numbering the pages continuously with the first volume. When page 592 was reached a few copies were published, the two volumes being bound in one. (Copies of this issue are in the John Crerar Library, Chicago, the Indiana University Library, and the New York Public Library.) The printing continued, however, until page 640 was reached, when additional copies were issued, the two volumes again bound in one. (Copies are in the University of Illinois Library, the Indiana Historical Society Library, and the Holliday Collection in the Indiana State Library, the first in original binding with a presentation inscription by Maclure.) Though page 640 broke off in the middle of a sentence, no further pages of this edition were

lected. They well express the social radicalism that animated Maclure's work—scientific in its world view, thoroughgoing in its desire for reform, but confident that drastic change could come by democratic means, in harmony and peace. "Attraction," he wrote, "would equally well represent the new social co-operative system—in its careful cultivation of all the benevolent and friendly feelings—in its perfect toleration of all opinions—in its attachment to truth and horror of hypocrisy; in its love of justice, and enabling every one to reap the fruits of his labor—in its mild, placid treatment of all the human race—in its encouraging of all pleasurable affection—in its enjoying, in moderation, all the animal appetites that can conduce to their own or other's happiness—in its living in peace and good will towards men."¹²

printed. Instead volume II was entirely reprinted with a new title page dated 1837 and with independently numbered pages [vii] + 556. (Copies of this are in the Workingmen's Institute, the Indiana State Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Library of Congress, and the Seligman Collection in the Columbia University Library.) At the same time, apparently, volume I was reissued separately, with the original title page and pagination, but with an index added at the end, constituting pages 481-83. (Copies of this issue are in the Workingmen's Institute, the Indiana State Library, the University of Illinois Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the Seligman Collection in the Columbia University Library.) Finally volume III appeared with a title page dated 1838, the complete text consisting of [i] + iv + 320 pages. There are no variants among the copies examined in the Indiana State Library, the Workingmen's Institute, and the Seligman Collection in the Columbia University Library. A second edition of volume I was published at Philadelphia in 1838, but it reprinted only part of the original volume I and added one essay from volume II, the whole constituting a large pamphlet of 140 double-columned pages. (Copies in the Wisconsin Historical Society and the New York Public Library.)

¹² Volume I, 40.

INDEX

INDEX

- Adults, education of, 301, 309, 350-51, 377.
- Agricultural and Pastoral Society, branch of New Harmony Community, 333, 343n, 345, 355, 357, 359-61; withdraws children from Education Society, 351, 352; takes over New Harmony tavern, 353, 354; dissolution, 373.
- Agricultural schools, experimental, 307, 331, 362; founded by Maclure in Spain, 294-95, 300, 305.
- Alcott, Bronson, 292.
- Allen, William, letter from Robert Owen, cited, 335n.
- American Conchology*, by Thomas Say, published by New Harmony press, 399n, 407.
- Antioch College, 341.
- Applegath, Joseph, of New Harmony Community, 340, 342, 352, 353, 382.
- Ashworth, Mrs. ———, 375, 395.
- "Attractive industry," 379-80.
- Bernhard, Karl, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, visitor at New Harmony, 330n.
- Birkbeck, Dr. George, 403.
- Birkbeck, Morris, 360n.
- "Boatload of Knowledge," 325, 330n, 345n.
- Brisbane, Albert, 379.
- Brougham, Henry, 403.
- Brown, Paul, visitor and commentator on New Harmony, 299; at Yellow Springs Community, 341, 342; interest in Nevilsville Community, 359, 360; cited: on music and dancing at New Harmony, 330; on Owen's plan to divide the community, 333; on New Harmony finances, 335n; on withdrawal of children from Education Society, 351; on sale of part of New Harmony store to Mechanic Society, 353; on complete community of property, 355-56; on Mme. Fretageot, 364; on expulsion of members, 373, 388n; on buildings of Education Society, 377n, 386n.
- Campbell, Alexander, debate with Robert Owen, 400, 402, 404, 405.
- Chemistry, at New Harmony, 338, 349.
- Cincinnati (Ohio), 371; Maclure writes from, 338, 354, 356, 358, 359, 364; Owenite projects in, 341, 359; Owen debates with Campbell in, 400, 402, 405.
- Clark, Amos, 382.
- Clark & Green, Springfield (Ohio) publishers, 349.
- Columbus (Ohio), 341.
- Combe, Abram, founder of Orbiston Community, 327.
- Communism, *see* Social reform.
- "Cut off mile society," 371.
- D'Arusmont, Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Phiquepal, *see* Phiquepal, William S.
- Dayton (Ohio), 361.
- Declaration of Mental Independence, by Robert Owen, 344-45, 346-48, 351-52, 386-87.
- Disseminator*, organ of School of Industry, 297, 299, 399, 407.
- Dorsey, James M., 336n, 388n; encouraged to set up schools in opposition to Maclure's, 395.
- Dublin (Ireland), 305.
- Edinburgh (Scotland), 312, 313.
- Education Society, at New Har-

- mony, organized and financed by Maclure, 333-35, 337-40, 342, 348, 350, 356-58, 365, 367, 371, 374-75, 377; prospectus, 326, 330-31, 349; buildings, 334-35, 349-50, 352, 377, 383, 386n; publishing and scientific research program, 338, 340, 371, 380, 387-88, 398-99, 401-2, 405-8; instruments and equipment for, 338, 354, 380; Owen sets up educational programs in opposition to, 351-53, 356, 359, 361-65, 367-69, 374, 394-95; conflicts between teachers in, 352, 362, 363-70, 374-75, 377, 383-84, 386, 387, 389-91, 395, 401; failure of Maclure's effort to incorporate, 375; *see also* School of Industry, Workingmen's Institute, M. D. Fretageot, Lesueur, William Maclure, Neef, Robert Owen, Piquetal, Say, Troost.
- Educational ideas: of Owen, 291-92, 303, 307, 312, 314, 315-16, 318, 356, 359, 361-64, 367-68, 371-72, 385, 395; of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, 292; of Maclure, 292-95, 300, 305-6, 310, 322, 331, 348, 350, 379-80; of Mme. Fretageot, 312, 314, 315-16, 352, 367-69, 389-91; of Neef, 294, 338, 352, 368, 387, 389-90; of Piquetal, 324n, 337, 349, 352, 357-58, 377, 383-84, 386, 390-91.
- England, *see* Great Britain.
- Essay on Common Wealths*, An, 304.
- Feiba-Peveli, or New Harmony Community No. 3, p. 328, 329n, 332, 345n, 397; dissolution, 374.
- Fellenberg, Philipp Emmanuel von, educational ideas, 292, 300, 403n.
- Finances of New Harmony, *see* Robert Owen.
- Fish of North America*, by C. A. Lesueur, 387, 398-99, 407.
- Fisher, Mrs. ———, 330n.
- Fisher, Hannah, wife of William Price, 330n.
- Flower, Richard, 307-8.
- Fourier, Charles, 379.
- France, prospects of educational and social reform in, as seen by Maclure, 301-3.
- Free Enquirer, The*, 399, 405.
- Fretageot, Achille, 307, 367, 390.
- Fretageot, Marie Duclos, *passim*; not to be confused with Madam F——, 330n; becomes acquainted with Maclure, 294-95, 300; school in Paris, 294-95, 300, 303; establishes school in Philadelphia under Maclure's patronage, 295, 302, 303, 309-10, 312, 314, 317, 322, 324; meets Owen, 311-12, 314, 317-18; urges Maclure to join Owen at New Harmony, 313-19, 321, 324; arrives at New Harmony, 325; teaches at New Harmony, 331, 349-50, 352, 364, 367-68, 369, 370, 375, 376, 382-83, 389, 390-91, 398, 405; oversees New Harmony press, 338, 371, 380, 387-88, 401-2, 405, 407-8; quarrels with Piquetal, 352-53; chided by Maclure for falling in with Owen's educational plans, 362, 363-69; manages Maclure's interests in New Harmony after his departure, 399-400, 402, 405-6; leaves New Harmony for France and Mexico, 406; death, 299, 406.
- Gardner, ———, *Dictionary*, 323.
- Geology, Maclure's interest in, 293, 294, 296; at New Harmony, 297.
- Gray, John, *Lecture on Human Happiness*, 327.
- Great Britain, prospects of educational and social reform in, as seen by Maclure, 305-10, 311, 320; by Owen, 403-4.
- Greaves, James Pierrepont, 292.
- Griscom, John, of New York, 303.
- Haines, Reuben, 349.
- Hall, [Samuel?], draws mortgages, 404, 405.
- Hildreth, Samuel P., 401.

- Hillbourn, ———, shoemaker, joins New Harmony Community, 354.
- Hofwyl (Switzerland), 292.
- Infant schools, 291, 306-7, 309, 310, 349, 359.
- Irving, ———, 400.
- Jalapa (Mexico), 403.
- Jennings, Robert L., 329, 400, 401.
- Lancastrian system of education, 323, 363.
- Lawsuits, involving Owen, 336n, 393-95, 396n; involving Maclure, 393-95.
- Lesueur, Charles Alexandre, 313, 390; accompanies Maclure on scientific expeditions, 296; joins New Harmony experiment, 319, 325; teaches at New Harmony, 349, 362; publication of study of fishes of North America, 338, 380, 387, 398-99; never completed, 407.
- London Mechanics' Institute (Birkbeck Institution), 403n.
- Louisville (Ky.), 347, 367, 369.
- Lowns, Caleb, 342, 385.
- Macdonald, Donald, 298.
- Maclure, Alexander, brother of William Maclure, 375, 377.
- Maclure, William, *passim*; birth, 292; scientific work, 292-96; makes acquaintance of Mme. Fretageot, 294-95, 300; visits Pestalozzi at Yverdon, 293, 294, 300; sponsors Pestalozzian schools in America, 294-95, 300, 301, 303, 306, 383; visits Owen at New Lanark (1824), 295, 306, 307; returns to United States (July 1825), 321; cautions Mme. Fretageot against excessive enthusiasm, 322; decides to join Owen, 295, 324-25, 331; arrives at New Harmony (Jan. 1826), 298, 325, 326; plans for New Harmony schools, 326, 331, 348, 349, 361, 364-65, 367, 369; proposes division of community by occupations, 332-33; organizes Education Society, 333-34, 375; financial and legal relationships at New Harmony, *see* Robert Owen; makes trip to Ohio and Kentucky (June-Oct. 1826) and advises Mme. Fretageot during absence, 298, 336-73; investigates Yellow Springs Community, 339, 340-41, 342; chides Mme. Fretageot for falling in with Owen's educational plans, 362, 363-69; effort to incorporate Education Society fails, 375; spends winter of 1826-27 in New Orleans and advises Mme. Fretageot during his absence, 375-89, 391; final break with Owen, 391-95; longest stay in New Harmony (1827), 299, 398; organizes School of Industry, 399; organizes Workingmen's Institute, 285, 296, 297, 406; resides in Mexico (1828 ff.), 399; meets Owen there (1829), 400, 403; *Opinions on Various Subjects* published by School Press at New Harmony, 407-8; death, 406.
- Macluria, or New Harmony Community No. 2, p. 328, 329n, 332; dissolution, 374.
- Macnab, Henry Grey, *New Views*, 303, 304.
- Marietta (Ohio), 401.
- Marriage, Owen's views on, 344-45, 348-49, 355.
- Mechanic Society, branch of New Harmony Community, 333, 343n, 359-61; withdraws children from Education Society, 351, 352; takes over part of New Harmony store, 353, 354; dissolution, 371n, 373.
- Mechanics' institutions, 309, 310, 403.
- Memphis (Tenn.), 378.
- Mexico, Maclure sojourns in, 399, 400, 403; Owen visits with plan for founding communities in, 400, 402, 403, 405.

Mexico City (Mexico), 406.

Miami Canal, 361.

Michaux, François André, *Sylva*, published by New Harmony press, 323, 401, 405, 407.

Mineralogy, Maclure's interest in, 293; at New Harmony, 338-39, 349, 390.

Mount Vernon (Ind.), 337, 357, 375, 378, 389.

Nashoba (Tenn.), 378, 400.

Natural philosophy, *see* Science.

Neef, Joseph, *Sketch of a Plan and Method of Education*, 294, 338; sets up school in Philadelphia under Maclure's patronage, 294, 300; joins New Harmony Community, 295; teacher at New Harmony, 349, 359, 361, 363, 364, 366, 385, 387, 389; opposes separate education community, 329n; criticized by Mme. Fretageot, 352, 389-90, 391; defended and supported by Maclure, 362, 368, 387, 389; on Owen's attempt to question property belonging to Education Society, 381; witness to deed, 382; replies to Owen's address attacking Maclure, 394.

Nevilsville (Ohio), proposed Owenite Community, 341n, 359, 360.

New Harmony Community, *passim*; successive reorganizations: Preliminary Society established (April-May 1825), 326, 327, 350, 354; reorganized as Community of Equality (Feb. 1826), 326, 327; first schisms, 326, 328-29; Communities Nos. 2 and 3 organized separately, *see* Macluria, Feiba-Peveli; second reorganization, with "nucleus" of 24 (March 1826), 328, 329-30; third reorganization, on basis of occupations (May 1826), 331-34, *see also* Agricultural and Pastoral Society, Education Society,

Mechanic Society; fourth reorganization as a "trust" (Sept.-Oct. 1826), 373, 396; fifth reorganization, involving leases to small communities and weeding out of "undesirables" (Jan.-Feb. 1827), 388, 391, 396; Community No. 4, part of this reorganization, a swindle, 396; failure admitted by *New-Harmony Gazette* (March 1827), but not by Owen, 396-97;

members of, criticized by Maclure, 337, 343, 346, 350, 354, 370, 377, 378, 380, 385; finances of, *see* Robert Owen; schools at, *see* Education Society, School of Industry, Workingmen's Institute; principles of, *see* Educational ideas, Social reform.

New-Harmony Gazette, 299, 407; contents criticized by Maclure, 355;

cited: on reorganizations of New Harmony Community, 326-28, 332-33, 343n, 396; on conflicting educational plans of Maclure and Owen, 326, 356, 362-63, 374n, 380-81, 392-95, 398n; on proposals for community of property at New Harmony, 355-56; on failure of experiment, 396; refuses to publish protest of Education Society, 381; transferred to New York as *Free Enquirer*, 297, 399.

New Lanark (Scotland), 292, 303, 304, 309, 311, 314, 359, 362, 371, 385, 402, 404; Maclure visits, 306, 307.

New Orleans (La.), 375, 399; Maclure writes from, 378, 379, 381, 386.

New System of Society, Two discourses on a, by Robert Owen, 317.

New View of Society, A, by Robert Owen, 291.

New York City (N. Y.), 304, 311, 321, 322; Robert Dale Owen and others transfer activities to, 404.

New York High School for Boys, 303.

New York Society for Promoting Communities, 304.

Opinions on Various Subjects, by William Maclure, 285n, 398n, 407-8.

Orbiston Community, near Glasgow, 327.

Orphans, education of, 351, 362, 365, 398.

Owen, David Dale, 297, 336.

Owen, Richard, 336n, 396n.

Owen, Robert, *passim*; earliest mention in Maclure-Fretegeot correspondence, 304; visited by Maclure at New Lanark, 295, 306, 307; first trip to United States, 308-11, 322; meets Mme. Fretegeot, 311-12, 314, 317-18, 325; founds New Harmony Community and carries through successive reorganizations, *see* New Harmony Community; propaganda in America in 1824-25, pp. 313, 315-17, 327; writes Maclure from Philadelphia, 317; confers with Maclure, 322-23, 325; sails for England, 322, 324; returns to United States, 324-27; reaches New Harmony for longest stay, 327; investment at New Harmony and financial relations with Maclure, 334-40, 342, 346, 348, 350, 356-58, 365, 376-77, 380-85, 391-94, 402, 405; delivers "Oration Containing a Declaration of Mental Independence," 344-48, 351-52, 386-87; sets up educational program in opposition to Maclure's, 351-53, 356, 359, 361-65, 367-69, 374, 394-95; transfers store and tavern to subordinate communities, 353, 354, 358-59, 361; breaks finally with Maclure, 391-95; leaves New Harmony without admitting

failure, 396-97; debates on religion, 400, 402, 404, 405; projects communities in Mexico, 400, 402, 403, 405; *see* Maclure there, 400, 403; revisits New Harmony, 400, 405; sells property at New Lanark, 404; plans of, praised: by Mme. Fretegeot, 304, 312, 314, 316, 318-19, 321; by Maclure, 307, 309, 312-13, 320, 322-23; by Phiquepal, 319; criticized by Maclure, 322, 344, 346-48, 358, 359, 361-62, 368, 370-72, 382, 387, 388, 389. administrative and financial management of, at New Harmony, criticized by Maclure, 336-40, 342-44, 346, 354, 356-61, 365-67, 369, 371, 375-78, 383, 385, 388-95; *see also* Educational ideas, Social reform, New Harmony Community, New Lanark.

Owen, Robert Dale, 377, 404; moves to form an educational community, 329; on father's expenditure at New Harmony, 336n; and New Harmony schools, 340, 351, 352, 359, 362, 363, 368, 369, witness to deed, 382; praised by Mme. Fretegeot, 391; advised by Mme. Fretegeot, 401; acts as business agent for father, 404; goes to New York, 404-5.

Owen, William, 336n, 377; diary, 298; moves to form educational community, 329.

Paris (France), 303, 307, 310, 312, 320, 386, 406; Maclure supports educational experiments in, 294-95, 300, 301, 302.

Pastoral Society, *see* Agricultural and Pastoral Society.

Pears, Sarah, 298.

Pears, Thomas, 298, 329n.

Pelham, William, 298.

Pelham, William Creese, 354.

Periodicals for disseminating useful knowledge, 309, 310.

Pestalozzi, Heinrich, educational

- ideas, 292, 295, 301; Maclure's interest in, 293, 294, 300-1, 302, 323, 324n, 367, 368, 383, 389.
- Philadelphia (Pa.), 383, 404; seat of Maclure's mercantile business, 292; Neef establishes school in, 294, 300; Mme. Fretageot establishes school in, 303; Phiquepal brings school to, 313; Owen in, 311-12, 317-18, 325; Maclure in, 324-25; Owen speaks in, 394-95.
- Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, interest of members in community system, 305, 313; Maclure president of, 296.
- Philadelphia *Aurora*, 305.
- Philadelphia *National Gazette*, 347-48, 386-87.
- Philadelphia *United States Gazette*, 348.
- "Philanthropist," keelboat, 325.
- Phiquepal, William S. (Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Phiquepal d'Arusmont), marries Frances Wright, 295n; school in Paris, 294-95, 300; becomes acquainted with Maclure, 295, 300-2; moves school to Philadelphia under Maclure's patronage, 295, 306, 313-15, 317, 321, 324; meets Owen, 314-17, 319; joins New Harmony experiment, 295, 325; teaches at New Harmony, 325-26, 337-39, 349, 352, 357-58, 369, 374, 377, 383-84, 386-87, 390, 401; criticized by Maclure, 337-39, 349, 357-58, 377, 383-84, 386-87, 389; criticized and defended by Mme. Fretageot, 352-3, 390, 391, 401.
- Prairies, community on the, 345, 352, 359-60, 371.
- Preliminary Society, *see* New Harmony Community.
- Price, Dr. Philip M., 330n; aids Mme. Fretageot in establishing school, 303; becomes interested in Owen's experiment, 303, 304, 310, 311, 314, 325.
- Price, William, marries Hannah Fisher, 330n.
- Printing and publishing at New Harmony, 285, 295-96, 323n, 338, 340, 371, 380, 387-88, 398-99, 401-2, 405, 407-8.
- Property, private, Owen's views on, 344-45; Paul Brown's views on, 341n, 355-56, 360.
- Purdon, James, lawsuit with Owen, 336n.
- Rapp, Frederick, 391.
- Rapp, George, 335, 340, 342, 385, 404, 406.
- Rappites, Owen purchases New Harmony from, 307-8, 391-94.
- Religion, organized: criticized by Maclure, 301, 302, 307, 309, 312, 322; by Mme. Fretageot, 304, 404; by Owen, 318, 344-45, 400, 404, 405; differences over, at New Harmony, 328; effect upon public opinion of Owen's statements concerning, 347-48; debate between Owen and Campbell on, 400, 402, 404, 405.
- Research, scientific, at New Harmony, 285, 295-97, 313, 338, 390.
- Robertson, ———, 309.
- Roe, ———, 360.
- Say, Thomas, 305; accompanies Maclure on scientific expeditions, 296; joins New Harmony Community, 313, 315, 318, 319, 325; *American Conchology* published at New Harmony, 338, 399n, 407; at New Harmony, 340, 359, 367, 373, 377, 390; marriage to Lucy Sistaire, 348, 391n; teaches zoology, 349; cabinet of specimens, 380, 387; acts as agent for Maclure, 393; carries on Maclure's work in New Harmony, 399; death, 407.
- Schmid, Joseph, 301.
- School of Industry, at New Harmony, 295-96, 297, 398, 406; *see*

- also Education Society, Workingmen's Institute.
- School Society, *see* Education Society.
- Science, Maclure's interest in, 293, 294-96; at New Harmony, 285, 295-97, 313, 338, 349, 371, 390, 406-8; Piquetal's aversion to, 338, 383-84; Mme. Fretageot on, 390.
- Sectarian schools, 309.
- Sexual morality at New Harmony, 348-49, 355, 359, 385.
- Silliman, Benjamin, editor of *American Journal of Science and Arts*, 296, 324;
letters from Maclure: on education, 293-94; on Owen's projected New Harmony experiment, 308, 320; on Michaux' *Sylva*, 323n; on plan for New Harmony schools, 330-31; on "attractive industry," 379-80.
- Sistaire, Mrs. Joseph, 348.
- Sistaire, Lucy, wife of Thomas Say, 348, 391n.
- Slavery, 389, 399.
- Social reform, Owen's ideas on, 291, 303, 304-5, 307, 309, 318; Maclure's ideas on, 294, 301, 308, 310, 346-47, 403-4, 408; Paul Brown's ideas on, 355-56.
- Society for Promoting Communities, of New York, 304.
- Spain, Maclure's effort to establish school in, 294-95, 300, 305; reactionary regime in, 305.
- Speakman, John, 313, 315, 318, 325.
- Speculation, Maclure warns against, 310, 323, 349, 361.
- Springfield (Ohio), 359; Maclure writes from, 342, 344, 345, 348.
- Store, at New Harmony, 350, 353, 354, 358-59, 361, 376.
- Sylva*, by François André Michaux, 323, 405, 407.
- Tavern, at New Harmony, 353, 354, 358-59, 361.
- Taylor, William G., 396.
- Texas territory, to be scene of Owenite experiment, 402, 403.
- Tiebout, Cornelius, printer and engraver at New Harmony, 371, 388, 401-2, 405.
- Troost, Dr. Gerard, 317, 318; joins New Harmony experiment, 296, 313, 315; at New Harmony, 338, 339, 345n, 346, 349, 390.
- Two Discourses on a New System of Society*, by Robert Owen, 317.
- United States, prospects of educational and social reform in, as seen by Maclure, 301, 302, 308, 309, 320, 323; by Mme. Fretageot, 304; by Owen, 309, 312, 314, 404.
- Ward, Allen, 404.
- Washington (D. C.), Owen seeks support for community in, 314, 315, 316, 317.
- Washington *National Intelligencer*, 348.
- Whitwell, Stedman, 345-46, 350.
- Women, position of, 306-7.
- Wood, Samuel, 324.
- Workingmen's Institute, 296; founded by Maclure, 285, 297, 406; Maclure-Fretageot correspondence, collection of, 285, 287, 297-99, 300.
- Wright, Frances, 337, 369, 372; marriage, 295n; Nashoba Community, 378, 400; Mme. Fretageot advises, 401; Owen settles finances with, 402, 404.
- Wright, Pamela, 400.
- Xenia (Ohio), 341.
- Yellow Springs (Ohio) Community, 339, 340-41, 342, 359, 360.
- Yverdon (Switzerland), Pestalozzi's school in, 292; Maclure visits, 293, 300-1, 302.
- Zanesville (Ohio), 354.
- Zoology, at New Harmony, 349; *see also* Lesueur, Say.

INDIANA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME 15
NUMBER 4

The VINCENNES DONATION LANDS



By LEONARD LUX, O. S. B.

Indianapolis
INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1949

FOREWORD

THOUSANDS of acres of public land in the neighborhood of Vincennes, Indiana, were given away by Congress during the early years of American Independence. The lands thus granted by the government became known as "donation lands." Historians have been aware that such donations were made, but such questions as to why the land was given away, who were the benefactors of the donations, and how much land was granted have never been made the subject of a critical discussion. Moreover, the effect that these gifts of land had upon the economic life of the community forms an interesting sidelight to the history of the frontier. And in connection with the frontier, a study of the influence, if any, which the donations had upon land settlement in southern Indiana will be valuable, as will also be knowledge of the effect of the donations upon American pioneers coming afterward into the lower Wabash district.

Still more questions develop from even a cursory study of maps of Knox County, Indiana. Outlines of the "donation lands" may be seen on maps of the most recent printing. On older county maps, of course, they appear more clearly defined. Always they are unmistakably set apart from the regularly surveyed government lands of the county by the odd shapes and sizes the divisions assume as they lie scattered throughout Knox and neighboring counties. Why are these lands so out of proportion to the other land grants in the United States? What are the reasons for their strange, irregular shapes and sizes? Furthermore, what are the meanings of the puzzlingly abbreviated designations of various types of grants found on older maps of the region?

The answers to these and similar questions form the subject matter of this dissertation. It is the purpose of this paper to explain why the donations were made, to indicate the manner in which they were made, and (this will explain why the claims were so long without confirmation) to point out the class of people they benefited, to show the effects of the land grants

upon the economic and social life of the community, and to explain how the donations have come down, even to the present day, in the legal terminology of the town and surrounding country. Moreover, the donations themselves, the manner of settlement, and the lists of donees have their own story of political, economic, and social changes taking place in the community.

It is not, however, within the scope of this paper to trace individual claims from the original claimant to the present owner or even to identify or locate each grant entered upon the lists of confirmees. As an aid to further inquiry along such lines, the various documents in which the names of those who received donations may be found, together with other pertinent data, will be indicated. Furthermore, this paper does not claim to explain or to solve all the economic effects of the donations upon the community in later years, but only to point out some of the more immediate results and the economic changes they indicate. More specifically, this study does not enter into a discussion of reasons why the French did not profit from the donations as much as some of their Anglo-American neighbors.

Whenever possible original sources have been used in studying the donation laws and reports. Words of appreciation are due to Father Thomas T. McAvoy, head of the department of history of the University of Notre Dame, who not only proposed this study, but also encouraged the author by timely suggestions and help; to Mrs. Marguerite Anderson, former head of the Indiana Division of the Indiana State Library, who made available all the material in her keeping; to the Very Reverend Paul A. Deery, rector of the Old Cathedral at Vincennes, for affording access to pertinent manuscripts in the Old Cathedral Library; and to Mrs. Leo Schultheis, of Vincennes, who, besides permitting access to the Vigo Papers, made many valuable suggestions. The author is, likewise, indebted to members of the staff of the Knox County Courthouse, and to Mr. Mack Reed, former clerk of the Land Office, Indiana State Auditor's Office, for their generous assistance.

L. L.

MARMION MILITARY ACADEMY
AURORA, ILLINOIS

CONTENTS

I. THE REQUEST FOR A DONATION OF LAND.....	427
II. THE REQUEST GRANTED.....	443
III. THE FINAL SETTLEMENTS.....	464
APPENDIX	485
INDEX	491

POCKET MAP

THE VINCENNES DONATION TRACT IN THE STATES OF
INDIANA AND ILLINOIS

I. THE REQUEST FOR A DONATION OF LAND

ON JULY 26, 1787, thirteen days after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance, the French inhabitants of Vincennes on the Wabash sent to Congress a request for a donation of land to each male inhabitant of the post.¹ Many of these Frenchmen had dwelt at Vincennes long before the mother country lost that territory to Great Britain in 1763. During all the years of the French occupation, their superiors, the commandants, would, no doubt, have given them freely of the thousands of acres of rich lands claimed by the French king in the vicinity of the village. However, it was only after the conquest by the United States and after American immigrants began to intrude in increasing numbers that these older villagers became interested in the possession of more extensive holdings of land. An examination of their history and a careful weighing of the words of their petition reveal the fact that great economic and social changes had taken place in this little river community and that the request of 1787 and its supporting arguments and explanations, to a considerable extent, epitomize the early history of the post.

Early in the eighteenth century the French founded Fort Ouiatenon, near the present Lafayette, Indiana, Fort Miami, at the present Fort Wayne, and Post Vincennes as links in a chain of forts and fur-trading bases set up to protect their interests in the great expanse of territory stretching from Canada to Louisiana. The site of Post Vincennes was probably chosen because it was the site of a village of friendly Piankashaw Indians, and because, being on fairly high ground, it offered protection from the frequent floods of the Wabash. Especially important also was the consideration of the situation of the place at an important junction. The old Buffalo Trace from present-day Louisville, Kentucky, forded the Wabash at Vincennes. This wide trail, beaten down by thousands of

¹ The petition is printed in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (volumes 1-, Washington, D. C., 1934-), II, 58-60.

buffalo hoofs, made an excellent road for the Indian and white trapper.² A fur-trading post at the place where it crossed the Wabash River would absorb the Indian fur traffic coming over the trace as well as much of the trade going up and down that river. For the defense of the country against the westward movement of the British the spot was also ideally chosen. Near the confluence of three rivers, forces could be dispatched from the fort in almost any direction by water to intercept any hostile expedition, and an army could be sent east or west by land on one of the best trails in the Northwest.

In short, as the inhabitants of Vincennes wrote in September, 1772, pointing out the important location of the fort and begging General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, not to force them to move from their homes: "of all places this is the most necessary, . . . being the center between Detroit, Fort Pitt, and the Illinois country, the thoroughfare of the nations, and the security of the Beautiful River and the Mississippi."³

Although founded principally as a fur-trading center and fort, agricultural pursuits and the possession of land were not entirely ignored by the inhabitants of old Post Vincennes. However, they did not hold the same importance in the community that they did in the English colonies. The French were content with the gift of land for the common use of the community which the Indians made in the early days of the settlement. Probably neither party expected that large portions of this land would ever be possessed individually. The traditional date of the Indian grant is said to have been 1742. The boundaries were always very vague, but generally were conceded to extend about forty miles along the Wabash River and to measure about seventy-two miles across. There can be no doubt that such a cession of land was actually made by the

² See George R. Wilson, *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, VI, No. 3, Indianapolis, 1910), p. 370; George R. Wilson and Gayle Thornbrough, *The Buffalo Trace* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, XV, No. 2, Indianapolis, 1946).

³ Quoted in Florence G. Watts, "Some Vincennes Documents of 1772," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXIV (1938), 211.

Indians even though no written deed of the grant or charter has ever been found.⁴ Thus, in 1775, the Piankashaw Indians in selling a large tract of land on the Wabash to Louis Viviat, agent for the Wabash Land Company, recalled the ancient grant to the French by expressly excepting from sale the hereinafter described land: “. . . the intermediate space of twenty-four leagues . . . being reserved for the use of the inhabitants of Post St. Vincent . . ., between Point Coupee and the mouth of White river . . ., with the same width or breadth on both sides of the Ouabache river, as is hereby granted in the . . . several tracts of land above bounded and described.”⁵

Besides this recognition of the grant by the very tribe which originally made the donation, numerous memorials and letters testify to the grant. In 1793, for example, in a petition to President Washington, Pierre Gamelin and fifteen other inhabitants of the village referred to the grant thus: “The last year in councils, the first which have been held between the United States and these Indians, they unanimously spoke of the donation in these terms: ‘Americans. . . . Our fathers gave to the French and their heirs all the lands from *la pointe coupée* and the river Blanche, on both sides of the Wabash river. . . . these lands are theirs. . . .’”⁶

Father Jean François Rivet, pastor at Vincennes from 1795 to 1804, wrote to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, on October

⁴ “The grant of land is said to have been made to Monsieur De Vincennes . . . for the use of the French settlers, and although the instrument of conveyance (if there ever was one in writing) is lost, the fact is ascertained . . . by the testimony of all the old French inhabitants.” Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison to the Secretary of War, February 26, 1802, in Logan Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison* (2 volumes. *Indiana Historical Collections*, volumes 7 and 9, Indianapolis, 1922), I, 41.

⁵ John B. Dillon, *A History of Indiana* . . . (Indianapolis, 1859), p. 107. In 1780 the Illinois Land Company and the Wabash Land Company were united under the name of the United Illinois and Wabash Land Companies. The agents of the company applied to Congress for a confirmation of part of their claim in 1781, 1791, 1797, 1804, and 1810, but all these applications were rejected. *Ibid.*, p. 109n.

⁶ *American State Papers. Public Lands* (8 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1834-61), I, 32.

26, 1796, to the effect that the "contract is still alive in their mouths," referring to a "pretty considerable extent of land on both sides of the Wabash" given by the Indians to the French.⁷ Another example of recognition of the Indian grant was made in the Treaty of Greenville. In this important treaty of 1795 the United States and the Indians agreed to except or withdraw from the lands recognized as belonging to themselves "the post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished."⁸ In the early days of the post the Indians had, therefore, given the French a large tract of land for their use.

The land thus granted by the friendly Piankashaw Indians either to the French king or to the inhabitants of the post was, throughout the early history of the settlement, administered by the commandants at their discretion. Between 1749 and 1763 twenty persons received land from Commandant Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, and one claimed he had received a grant from François Margane Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, the founder of the post. At least forty-three other persons had received grants of land from the commandants by 1772,⁹ but because they were given verbally or records of the deeds were lost, the dates of these cessions are unknown. These figures do not indicate how large a proportion of the villagers was engaged in farming. A study of the method and numbers of acres under cultivation, however, tends to support the theory that over half the residents of the village tilled some land, but that this was not their only occupation.

In the early days of Post Vincennes there were two groups of Frenchmen, the *coureur de bois*, the rangers of the forest or fur traders, and the *habitants* who dwelt in the village. The latter adopted a manner of settlement that partly resembled the manorial system of seventeenth-century France as modified by the system prevalent in Canada. In the mother country the

⁷ Rivet to Carroll, October 26, 1796, in Old Cathedral Library, Vincennes.

⁸ Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1904), II, 41.

⁹ Jacob Piatt Dunn (ed.), *Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, II, No. 11, Indianapolis, 1894), pp. 125-29.

people were centralized in villages somewhat away from the fields they cultivated, but when colonists came to New France they adopted a mode of settlement that had its own advantages. The Canadian system has been described as follows: "The first attempt made in Canada to lay out farms (1632) consisted in having them in a row facing the river and distant from one another about four arpents. Each lot of land measured forty arpents deep, making one hundred and sixty square arpents for a farm. . . . The advantage of such an arrangement is to bring the house a few steps from the river; to permit easy access to the public road situate between the house and the river; to keep social intercourse as close as possible by the vicinity of neighbors engaged in the same occupation."¹⁰

At Post Vincennes the *habitants* adopted the same manner of laying out farms, marking off narrow strips of land running back from the Wabash River. Some of these farms at Vincennes were four arpents wide by forty deep, but the majority were only two arpents in width. Contrary to the custom in Canada, however, and more in accordance with the manner of France, the people of Vincennes lived in the village and went out to the fields each day to till their land. A report on land holding at Vincennes in 1790, when the United States government was confirming the French in their possessions, substantiates this statement. At that time no houses were noted as being in any of the three "prairies" in which the French farms were situated. On the contrary, all the persons who had farms also owned lots in the town and in some cases it is expressly stated that their houses were on their town lots.¹¹

The farms that the French went out to till each day were, for the most part, in the three prairies near Vincennes, though some cultivated lands across the Wabash on what was referred to as the north side of the Wabash. The "Upper Prairie" was above

¹⁰ Benjamin Sulte, "Origin of the French Canadians," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XI(1905-6), 110-11. A French arpent is generally regarded as comprising four-fifths of an English acre. By actual survey an eighty-arpent farm was equivalent to 68.10 English acres when surveyed by United States surveyors.

¹¹ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 9-16, and *post*, pp. 450-51.

the town bordering on the Wabash, the "Lower Prairie" below the town stretching about six miles along that river, and the "Cathlinette Prairie" east of the southern part of the "Lower Prairie." Apparently the older inhabitants called this latter prairie the "Cathlinette" from a bush that grew in the vicinity. The word is still used in referring to that section of land below Vincennes, but the name has been corrupted, like so many other French names of the region, to "Catinette." As has been said, the ordinary farm in one of these prairies was two arpents wide by forty deep, and, except in the Cathlinette Prairie, generally fronted on the Wabash. These farms were not fenced, but the large commons south of the village, in which the cattle of all the inhabitants were kept, was enclosed by a pale, and each resident was expected to keep up his section of the fence which enclosed over 5,000 acres of land.

Although there were many acres of rich land in the neighborhood of Vincennes, no attempt apparently was made by the French *habitants* to increase their holdings and acquire large tracts. In this way the economic establishment of the French community at Vincennes was sharply distinguished from that of the English tidewater settlements. In the latter, land was the basis of the life of the English colonists, but at Vincennes fur trading was the principal occupation and even the *habitants* in some way or other benefited from it, and made use of agriculture only as means of sustenance. Thus in 1787, when political and economic changes in the community called for an increased interest in land, the inhabitants of the town, in petitioning the United States government for a grant, explained what manner of occupation the community had engaged in before the coming of the Americans: "Your petitioners beg leave to observe," they wrote, "that, previous to their being subjects of the United States, being chiefly addicted to the Indian trade, they, in a great measure, overlooked the advantages that can be derived from the cultivation of lands, and consequently neglected to avail themselves of the willingness of their Sovereigns and Governors to grant them tracts sufficient for plantations. Contented to raise bread for our families, we neither

extended our culture for the purpose of exportation, nor formed an idea of dividing among ourselves our fruitful country.”¹²

The impression received from memorials of the inhabitants and from the letters of those who lived in or passed through the town in the early days is of a happy, comfortable settlement. In 1765 George Croghan, the Crown’s deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, spoke of Post Vincennes as “. . . one of the finest situations that can be found. The country is level and clear and the soil very rich, producing wheat and tobacco. . . . A place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country all along the Ouabache, and too far for the Indians, which reside hereabouts, to go either to the Illinois, or elsewhere, to fetch their necessities.”¹³

Thomas Hutchins, British military engineer and later official geographer by appointment of Congress, who was at Vincennes frequently during the British occupation between 1764 and 1778, estimated the value of its fur trade at £5,000 annually.¹⁴ At a later date Father Rivet, in a letter of October 26, 1796, to Bishop Carroll, described the condition of his parishioners as having been “formerly so flourishing.”¹⁵ C. F. Volney’s account of his Vincennes visit in 1796 states this explicitly: “Between that period [1788] and the peace of 1763, when England obtained Canada, and Spain Louisiana, they enjoyed tranquillity and happiness. . . . Unmolested and sequestered in the heart of the wilderness, fifty leagues from the nearest post on the Mississippi, without taxes, and in friendship with the Indians, they passed their lives in hunting, fishing, trading in furs, and raising a few esculents and a little corn for their families.”¹⁶

¹² Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 58.

¹³ “A Selection of George Croghan’s Letters and Journals Relating to Tours into the Western Country—November 16, 1750—November, 1765,” in Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* . . . (32 volumes. Cleveland, 1904-7), I, 142-43.

¹⁴ Thomas Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* . . ., edited by Frederick Charles Hicks (Cleveland, 1904), p. 100.

¹⁵ Rivet to Carroll, October 26, 1796, in Old Cathedral Library, Vincennes.

¹⁶ Constantin F. Volney, *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* . . . (Philadelphia, 1804), pp. 333-34.

The name of Louis St. Ange de Bellerive is synonymous with the early, happy period in the history of Vincennes. He succeeded Sieur de Vincennes as commandant on the latter's death at the hands of the Chickasaws in 1736, and held that office until 1764 when he was called to Fort Chartres. He gave nearly thirty years of peace and good government to the wilderness outpost on the Wabash. His administration of the town was in sharp contrast with that of the next thirty years in which representatives of Great Britain, Virginia, and the United States succeeded one another in the government of the post.

It was St. Ange who granted most of the small, narrow tracts of land in the prairies and the lots in town to the inhabitants. One flaw in his administration of the post, from the point of view of English legal standards, was his loose or inefficient manner of giving titles to the land that he granted. Concessions were generally noted on small scraps of paper which were sometimes lodged in a notary's office and often as not given to the individual. Other grants were made verbally, apparently without any written record of the transaction being made. In 1773 St. Ange came to the assistance of the French at Vincennes whose titles to the lands were being questioned by the British. After giving a statement of his official position at Vincennes, the aged commandant remarked: "I have conceded to many inhabitants divers lands and pieces of ground by order of my . . . Srs. the Governors, in the name of His Most Christian Majesty: . . . in addition to this I have verbally permitted a number of individuals to establish themselves and cultivate the lands of which they have been in possession for many years."¹⁷

Of the written concessions, one, taken from the Recorder's Office, Knox County, Indiana, may be cited as an example: "We, Captain Commandant, of Post Vincennes certify having conceded to one named Pierre Codere a piece of ground twenty-five toises in width and twenty-four toises in depth going to the Glassis [glacis] of the fort bearing on one side to Sieur Michel Dizi and on the other to the street that goes to the glassis and the

¹⁷ Quoted in Dunn (ed.), *Documents Relating to the French Settlements*, p. 430.

other face to the grand street which goes to the prairie, Done and given at Post Vincennes this 2nd, May, 1751. ST. ANGE"¹⁸

Such haphazard record keeping is probably only one more indication of the secondary importance that land played in the life of the early days of the Wabash post.

The departure of St. Ange in 1764 marks the end of the first period of Post Vincennes, the happiest time of the post, or its "Golden Age" from the French point of view. At the end of St. Ange's long rule Vincennes boasted a population of three or four hundred persons. Thomas Hutchins placed the number of families at sixty, and in 1765 George Croghan estimated the families at between eighty and ninety.¹⁹ A report to the British commander-in-chief, General Gage, in 1767 on the state of the settlements on the Wabash listed 232 inhabitants and 168 strangers, making 400 in all, while a census taken in 1769 showed 66 heads of families living in Vincennes.²⁰ Despite the unstable government during the following years, the number of inhabitants increased and Henry Hamilton, British lieutenant governor stationed at Detroit, in a report of proceedings from November, 1776, to June, 1781, was able to state that on taking an account of the inhabitants of the place in 1778 he found the number to be 621.²¹

During the British regime at Vincennes, from 1763 to 1778, competent government did not keep pace with the increase of population. The settlement was unimportant in British colonial policy and it was not until 1777 that Governor Hamilton sent Lieutenant Governor Edward Abbott to rebuild the stockade

¹⁸ Deed Record D, Knox County, Indiana, p. 271. A French *toise* is equivalent to 6 feet 4 1/2 inches.

¹⁹ Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from Its Earliest Exploration to 1850* (2 volumes. 3d ed. Fort Wayne, 1924), I, 41; "George Croghan's Letters," in Hutchins, *Topographical Description*, edited by Hicks, p. 100; Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 141.

²⁰ Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, *The New Régime 1765-1767* (Illinois State Historical Library Collections, XI, Springfield, 1916), 469; Dunn (ed.), *Documents Relating to the French Settlements*, p. 439.

²¹ Henry Hamilton, July 6, 1781, report, transcript of original document in British Museum in Indiana Historical Society Library, p. 68; see also *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, IX (1886), 495.

at Vincennes.²² In the meantime, in the absence of any British authority, Jean Baptiste Racine, alias Ste. Marie, acted as commandant and maintained a semblance of order.

During this time no abrupt change was brought into the lives of the French inhabitants, though there was a flurry among them upon the issuance of a proclamation by General Gage in 1772 which stated that whereas, contrary to the proclamation of 1763, persons were settling west of the mountains particularly along the Wabash, which was occasioning "considerable injury to the affairs of the king, as well as to those of the Indians," all those who had "established themselves on the lands upon the Ouabache, whether at St. Vincent or elsewhere [were] to quit those countries instantly and without delay, and to retire . . . into some one of the colonies of his majesty. . . ."²³

The French replied by declaring that their lands were held by "sacred titles," that their settlement was of seventy years standing, and that their land had been granted by His Most Christian Majesty the King of France. Whereupon General Gage demanded a list of all the inhabitants of Vincennes and its neighborhood and the basis of their individual claims to land.²⁴ Probably this order was never followed up, and the extension of the Quebec Act of 1774 to the settlements northwest of the Ohio, which restored old French law, calmed the situation temporarily.

Four years later, in 1778, George Rogers Clark made his conquest of the Old Northwest. It was with the arrival of Clark and his American army that political upheaval and economic ruin came to the French. When the American and British armies and their Indian allies clashed for control of the Old Northwest, the French village at Vincennes was like a small neutral country that is made the battleground of two warring nations. The inhabitants underwent all the hardships of a devastating war without interest in the outcome of the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 434; Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Indiana a Redemption from Slavery* (Boston and New York, 1905), p. 81; Esarey, *History of Indiana*, I, 51.

²³ Quoted in Dillon, *History of Indiana*, pp. 86-87.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

conflict. They were never able to recover from the material losses which they sustained during the war, from the decline of their valuable fur trade, and from the introduction of a new form of government and the American way of life.

Clark made his conquest in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia, which claimed the region, but the young state was unable to establish a strong control over the remote settlements on the Wabash and the Illinois. In 1781 she offered to cede her western lands to the General Government, and in 1783 this conveyance was made.²⁵ But the Confederation, too, was slow in assuming its responsibility to its western citizens. Financial depression and lawlessness settled on the town.

Father Rivet has probably provided us with a fairly accurate if slightly exaggerated word picture of the situation of the inhabitants after 1780, when he wrote the following explanation of the decayed state of the village that had formerly been so flourishing: "I do not see any other cause for it than in the evils of every kind which they had to suffer from the American government, and especially from the Indian war. It is certain that the state has cruelly mistreated them, that the country has been given to pillage . . . that they have made advances amounting to enormous sums, and immense works, and that nothing has been paid them, that the subsequent fall of bank notes completed the total ruin of the country. . . . The lay clerk of the Church lost 25838 piastres, and so it is with others. They have often been promised indemnification, and nothing has come of it."²⁶

In a report made to President Washington at the time he examined the land claims in 1790, Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory from 1787 to 1797, touched upon the same subject: ". . . there are . . . considerable claims for supplies furnished the troops of Virginia before and since

²⁵ The act of conveyance contained the following clause: "That the French and Canadian Inhabitants and other Settlers of the Kaskaskies St Vincents and the neighbouring Villages who have professed themselves Citizens of Virginia shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties." Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 8.

²⁶ Rivet to Carroll, October 26, 1796, in Old Cathedral Library.

1783, which no person yet has been authorized to attend to, and which is very injurious to the interests and feelings of men who seem to have been exposed to a variety of distresses and impositions by characters pretending to have acted under the orders of that Government."²⁷

But more important than any of these factors, was the injury sustained by the sharp decline of the Indian trade. When the Americans came, the Indians began to leave. The trade with Canada declined to almost nothing, and that with New Orleans practically ceased. The Indians resorted more and more to Detroit, where they were better treated by the British. The source of the prosperity of the settlement under the old regime was cut off.

Finally the great influx of American settlers following close upon the conquest was bound to change fundamentally the old French economy. Clark's men had seen the land around Vincennes and liked it. Many of them returned and brought friends and relatives with them. Whereas in 1778 there were 621 residents in all in the neighborhood, by 1787, according to General Josiah Harmar, this number had increased to 900 French and 400 Americans.²⁸ By 1800 Vincennes had a population of 714, and there were 819 persons in the neighborhood of the town, making the total population of the settlement 1,533.²⁹ The names of many of the American immigrants to Vincennes during the first years following the Revolution were included in a list of the Vincennes militia for the year 1790, published in 1859 in the Vincennes *Western Sun*. The names of these American militiamen are given here because they show clearly that many Americans had settled at Vincennes by 1790, because they indicate the years of heaviest immigration

²⁷ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 11. The really desperate situation into which the Post was thrown is attested to in St. Clair's letter to the Secretary of War, May 1, 1790, from Kaskaskia: "The distress of the inhabitants at St. Vincennes is extreme. Several persons, driven to the woods in quest of food, have perished by eating roots that proved poisonous." William Henry Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair* (2 volumes. Cincinnati, 1882), II, 140.

²⁸ Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 27.

²⁹ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 24.

following the peace of 1783, and because these names are important in the land claims to be spoken of later.³⁰

NAME	DATE SETTLED IN KNOX CO.	NAME	DATE SETTLED IN KNOX CO.
John Martin	1785	Luke Decker	1784
Frederick Mathler	1785	Bastian Frederick	1785
Christian Barrachman	1785	Philip Catt	1785
Michael Thorn	1784	Jacob Pea	1785
Robert Day	1785	John Pea	1785
James Johnson	1784	Joseph Decker	1784
Godfrey Petters	1786	Henry Pea	1785
Peter Thorn	1784	Ralph Matson	1784
Thos. Jordan	1784	Isaac Decker	1784
Christopher Wyant	1785	Abraham Decker	1784
Jacob Thorn	1784	Moses Decker	1784
H. Vanderburgh	1787	Abraham Snapp	1784
Tobias Decker	1784	Lewis Frederick	1785
Allen Ramsey	1784	Abraham Barrachman	1785
John Decker	1784	Edw. Shoebrook	1784
Frederick Linden	1785	Jas. Johnson	1785
John Robins	1784	John Rice Jones	1785
Danl. Thorn	1784	Wm. Mayes	1784
John Lowe	1789	Jeremiah Mayes	1784
John Murphy	1789	Abraham Westfall	1785
Solomon Thorn	1784	John Harbin	1787
Daniel Smith	1785	Joshua Harbin	1787
Wm. Smith	1785	Daniel Meredeth	1780
Daniel Pea	1785	Hezekiah Holliday	1784
Charles Thorn	1784	Patrick Simpson	1785

Following Clark's arrival at Vincennes the French citizens took an oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and in October, 1778, the General Assembly of that state passed an act creating the County of Illinois to include all the citizens of the Commonwealth residing on the west side of the Ohio. The county was to be administered by a county lieutenant and certain other officials. Col. John Todd was named county lieutenant. In June, 1779, the Vincennes Court was organized with Col. J. M. P. Le Gras as president, the purpose of which was to preserve peace and administer justice in that community.

³⁰ Vincennes *Western Sun* (weekly), May 21, 1859.

The tendency of this court under Colonel Le Gras was to adopt the customs and usages of the old French court, one practice of which was carried on on a large scale. This was the practice of granting land to the French and American inhabitants. Lieutenant Todd and his deputies had no authority to make land grants, and in fact he issued a proclamation in June, 1779, enjoining all persons from making any new settlements on the flat lands of the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash rivers, "unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants. . . ." ³¹ The Vincennes Court, however, which was composed entirely of Frenchmen who were accustomed to having their commandants make cessions of land at will, began to grant lands, generally about 400 acres, to every American immigrant who came and wanted a tract of land. Between 1779 and 1783 they made grants totaling 26,000 acres of land, and from 1783 until 1787, when General Harmar checked the practice, 22,000 more acres were given out. ³²

That the procedure followed by this court in granting tracts of land was not the same as used by the old French court in making grants, is evidenced by a check of the locations of these new land grants. These court grants are scattered throughout the Vincennes district, not laid out in rows along the river as the old grants had been, nor did they lie side by side. Fertility of the land apparently determined the choice of sites.

When Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory, on examining these grants, asked the members of the court by what right they presumed to make concessions of land, they replied: ". . . the commandants have always appeared to be vested with the powers to give lands. Their founder, Mr. Vincennes, began to give concessions, and all his successors have given lands and lots. Mr. Legras was appointed commandant of Post Vincennes, by . . . John Todd, who was in the year 1779, sent by the State of Virginia for to regulate the Government of the country. . . . In his absence, Mr. Legras, who was then commandant, assumed that he had authority to

³¹ Quoted in A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 16.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 10.

give lands according to the ancient usages of other commanders, and he verbally informed the court of Post Vincennes that, when they would judge it proper to give lands or lots to those who should come into the country to settle or otherwise, they might do it, and that he gave them permission so to do."³³

In the cultivation of these large tracts of land the Americans introduced a new mode of life into the settlement, and an economy in which land was of primary importance. Agriculture was to replace fur trade as the chief source of income, and the French, aware of the changing times, sought a means to meet the new conditions. Under the direction of Gen. Josiah Harmar, commander of the Army of the Ohio, who came to Vincennes in 1787, and his deputy Col. John Francis Hamtramck who stayed until 1790, the Vincennes Court was abolished and land grants ceased. On July 13, 1787, the ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio was passed. Thirteen days after this the French petitioned the Congress for a donation of land. They asked: "*First*. That every male inhabitant of this district, without discrimination of age, be entitled to five hundred acres of land. *Second*. That as much land as will be equal to the total so granted be moreover conceded to the district as a community. . . ."

The arguments put forth in support of their petition review the early history of the post before the advent of the Americans. First they recalled their claim to the tract of land "two hundred and ten miles by seventy-two," based on an Indian grant. They surrendered this charter and threw themselves upon the mercy of Congress: "We had a grant from the Indians; we had settled the country; we had possessed it for a long series of years; our charter was as much (or indeed more) talked of among the Americans as among ourselves." They also urged their loyalty to the American cause during the late war, and the hardships they had suffered in consequence of it. "If, to principles of common justice, it were necessary to add motives of compassion," they wrote, "we might tell . . . a long tale of uninterrupted distresses, oppressions, and calamities, heaped up

³³ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 16.

³⁴ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 59.

upon us. . . . We might tell them [Congress] that we were once a happy and wealthy people, until we fell a prey to the unquenchable rapacity of those whom we had received as friends; that we, after voluntarily and cheerfully becoming subjects of the State of Virginia were oppressed, plundered, deprived of the common rights of citizens. . . . our attachment to the cause of America . . . has subjected us to the enmity of those Indians who had . . . called us fathers and friends. . . .” Finally, the loss of the Indian fur trade and the necessity of following the example of the American pioneers and of adopting a new land economy was given as the principal reason for the request of donation lands: “The moment we were connected with the United States, we began to be sensible to the real value of lands; and our decreasing peltry trade pointed out to us the necessity of applying ourselves to that new kind of industry. . . . As our acquaintance with our neighbours became more extensive, our charter began to appear to ourselves in a different light from what we had hitherto viewed it; and we are afraid it does not rest upon a sufficiently firm basis.”³⁵

The request for land was made at a time when a discussion was being carried on in the Confederation Congress regarding the new Constitution, and just a few days after Gen. Josiah Harmar had assured the French (on July 7, 1787), that the first coming of United States regular troops to Vincennes was to “preserve good faith with them [the Indians], and protect the legal inhabitants.”³⁶ Circumstances were such that Congress was disposed to listen to the petition of the French at Vincennes.

³⁵ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 58-60.

³⁶ Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 25n.

II. THE REQUEST GRANTED

THE request by the inhabitants of Vincennes for a donation of land did not come to Congress as a startling innovation. Congress had granted land to the veterans of the Revolution, and while the status of the petitioners was hardly that of Revolutionary soldiers, their aid to George Rogers Clark had been great. Nothing was said in the reports of the committees appointed to consider the requests for donations of land in the Vincennes and Illinois districts to indicate whether or not the officials of the government at that time realized fully the importance of French aid to Clark. A decade later, however, in a letter of June 30, 1797, to Territorial Secretary Sargent, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering probably expressed the attitude of the Confederation government in 1787 towards the French in the Northwest, when he said of the settlements on the Mississippi whose situation paralleled that of the French at Vincennes: "By their fidelity to the United States, they cannot fail to recommend themselves."¹

Another factor may have influenced Congress to favor the petition. Ever since France had surrendered to England her claim to the territory northwest of the Ohio River, there had been a tendency on the part of a few French nationals to move with their families across the Mississippi River into Spanish territory. Spanish authorities on their part encouraged the migration. In 1789, a year and a half after the first Congressional donation resolution, the Spanish governor of Louisiana and West Florida, Estevan Miro, formally invited settlers of other countries to immigrate to the Spanish provinces and offered them as much as 800 acres of land by way of inducement.²

¹ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 611.

² The proclamation ran thus: "Whereas his Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit the subjects and citizens of other countries to emigrate to his provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, by the Mississippi river with their stock, slaves, farming utensils, and household furniture, . . . promising to each family a tract of land from 240 to 800 acres in proportion to their

Between 1783 and 1790 at least five heads of families are known to have left Vincennes and gone over to Spanish territory.³

Undoubtedly it was to the advantage of the United States to counteract this Spanish influence and to hold as many loyal and satisfied settlers in the Northwest as possible. They would act as a bulwark against both Spanish and British aggression in that territory. Granting a sincere request for a donation of a few hundred acres of land would dispose these hardy French pioneers more favorably toward the United States after the disappointments and hardships and even injustices suffered at the hand of the Americans during the preceding ten years.

Following upon the petition of July 26, 1787, a number of other petitions for land came before Congress. On August 7, 1787, the American inhabitants of the post asked for a similar grant of land, and the French on the Mississippi did the same a few weeks later, under date of September 15, 1787.⁴ There then followed a joint explanatory memorial from Vincennes and the Illinois settlements on the Mississippi dated February 28, 1788.⁵ This petition included besides a request for donations of land, requests that the government assume surveyors' fees,

numbers, free from all expense, as also exemption from taxation, and the private exercise of their religion: now in order to fulfil these the benevolent intentions of my royal master . . . I have thought proper to issue this my proclamation, making known to all persons, who may become the subjects of his Majesty, that they will be duly protected in the rights and privileges before mentioned." *Ibid.*, II, 213-14.

³ In a list of names of heads of families at Vincennes in 1783 but absent from that town in 1790 the following entries appear:

"Thomas Dalton . . . in the last year he went to New Orleans where he is a tavern keeper."

"John Baptiste Chartier. Head of a family in 1783, has sold his property, and gone over to the Spanish settlements."

"Joseph Dubé. Head of a family in 1783, now gone to the Spanish settlements. . . ."

"Guilbaut Charles, a claimant as Dubé, and in similar situation."

"The widow of Pier Peron. Is gone to New Orleans. . . ."

The following note was added, "N.B. It is observed of the people that the scarcity of provisions and their poverty forced them away, but they will return." A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 12.

⁴ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 66-67, 72-73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 92-94.

that the French lands be exempt from taxation, and that the "court" grants be recognized.⁶

The committee to whom the joint petition was referred, consisting of James Wadsworth, of Connecticut, William Irvine, of Pennsylvania, and James White, of North Carolina, made recommendations for both the Illinois country and Vincennes in their report of May 5, 1788.⁷ Their very thorough study of the problem was submitted to another committee charged with drawing up a resolution regarding donations of land at Vincennes. Appointed to this committee were Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, Abraham Clark, of New Jersey, Thomas T. Tucker, of South Carolina, and Abraham Baldwin, of Georgia. Their recommendations, known as the Resolution of August 29, 1788, were passed by Congress on that same day. This resolution read as follows:⁸

"Resolved that measures be taken for confirming in their possessions and titles the french & Canadian inhabitants and other settlers at post St. Vincents who on or before the year 1783 had settled there and had professed themselves citizens of the United States . . . and for laying off for them at their own expence⁹ the several tracts which they rightfully claim & which may have been allotted to them according to the laws & Usages of the Governments under which they have respectively settled.—

"That four hundred Acres of land be reserved and given to every head of a family of the above description settled at Post St. Vincent—

⁶ The joint petition stated these requests thus: "That . . . all the grants made by the County-Lieutenant or his deputy, and by our respective courts, since we became subjects of Virginia, shall be confirmed. . . .

"That, in consideration of the poverty of the inhabitants, the fees of the Surveyors . . . be paid by Congress.

"That, as an alleviation of our distress & losses during these ten last years, the lands of the french inhabitants of these districts may be exempted from taxation for so long as it will please Congress to order it." *Ibid.*, II, 94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 105-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 145-46.

⁹ This particular section was repealed by act of February 21, 1793. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, I, 318.

"That the Governor of the western territory cause to be laid out at the public expence in the form of a square adjoining to the present improvements at Post St. Vincent . . . a tract of land sufficient for compleating the above donations. . . ."

Compared with the prayer of the petition this settlement appears reasonable, although the donation conceded was only 400 acres instead of the 500 requested. The grant was made to heads of families and not to each male inhabitant of the post without discrimination of age. In place of having all claims surveyed at the expense of the government, it was provided that the private claims which had been granted by former authorities and which were now to be confirmed by the United States were to be surveyed at the expense of their owners. Only the donation lands were to be surveyed at public expense. The request for setting aside for public uses a portion of land equal to the amount of lands donated was ignored. However, the old Vincennes Commons, which was used by the community as a common grazing place for cattle, was granted to the village in a subsequent act. This area was much smaller than the community grant requested by the petition. No exemption from taxation was allowed, and the request that court grants which had been made under Virginia and United States rule be recognized was either ignored or overlooked.

The four-hundred-acre donations were taken from the great area of land around the village given by the Indians and formerly claimed by the French but which they had surrendered to the United States when they petitioned for land. In accordance with the earliest land policy of the United States, adopted in 1785, no land was to be disposed of in the West which had not been freed of Indian title.¹⁰ This land, however, was considered a part of the public domain. It had come from the Indians to the French, from the French to the English, and by the treaty of peace in 1783 from the English to the United States and the Indian grant was acknowledged by the Treaty of Greenville

¹⁰ The Land Ordinance of 1785 opened with this statement: ". . . the territory ceded by the individual states to the United States which has been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be disposed of in the following manner." Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 12.

in 1795. Later, in 1803, this cession was again acknowledged in a treaty between the United States and the Indians.¹¹

Land, therefore, was granted to the French settlers of Vincennes by the resolution of August 29, 1788. The next step was to determine who were entitled to confirmations and donations under the provisions of the resolution. On the same day, August 29, the Congress instructed the recently appointed governor of the Northwest Territory, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, to proceed as soon as possible to the Illinois country in order to confirm the claims and donations pending there, and then, on his return, to do the same at Vincennes.¹²

These orders were more easily given than carried out. Because of Indian disturbances in the Northwest, the difficulties of travel on the frontier, and the extensive territory that he was to administer, the Governor did not arrive at Kaskaskia in the Illinois country until a year and a half later, March 5, 1790.¹³ He stayed there only two months, far too short a time to investigate the hundreds of claims on the Mississippi, especially as Indian affairs occupied his mind while there, and he had to hasten back to the eastern part of his territory to consult with General Harmar, commander-in-chief. Postponement of the settlement of donation claims in order to deal with the urgent business of Indian uprisings in the vast Northwest Territory was a frequent occurrence during the history of the donation lands, and, together with the inadequacy of certain phases of donation legislation, prolonged a final settlement for many years. However, before leaving the Illinois country Governor St. Clair dispatched the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, to Vincennes in order to carry out the resolution of Congress regarding donation lands at that place.¹⁴ Thus the

¹¹ Treaty of Fort Wayne concluded June 7, 1803. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs*, II, 64. For further comment on this tract, see *post*, pp. 465-66.

¹² Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 146-47.

¹³ Beverley Bond, *The Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), p. 61; Dillon, *History of Indiana*, pp. 223-24.

¹⁴ St. Clair to Sargent [received June 10, 1790] in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, III, 311; Dillon, *History of Indiana*, p. 233. Sargent was a native of New England, a graduate of Harvard, and a veteran of the Revolution. Soon after the war he became involved in land speculation and

settlement of land claims in the Vincennes district was laid upon the shoulders of the Secretary, and he, more than any other single individual, became the chief government representative for confirming the land claims and donation rights at Vincennes.

Sargent proceeded to Vincennes and in an amazingly short time made himself master of the situation there and summarized it in a report to Congress on July 31, 1790.¹⁵ One hundred and forty-three persons proved that they had been heads of families at Vincennes in or before the year 1783, Sargent reported, on the basis of "information . . . confirmed by the testimony of the gentlemen of the Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas, as well as Judge of Probate, given me in the presence of . . . [Samuel Baird], Major Hamtramck, and Major Vigo. . . ."

Since these 143 persons were entitled to a donation of 400 acres of land according to the resolution, Samuel Baird was ordered by the Secretary to lay out a tract of land east of the village for the purpose of locating these tracts. Fifteen other names were added to this list but were not confirmed by the Secretary at this time because of their absence from the territory.

The residence requirement for the 400-acre donations was not so difficult to prove. However, when Sargent undertook to investigate old claims to land held by the French, he encountered the very loose and inefficient methods that had been used in recording titles. The following proclamation of July 18, 1790, to the people of Vincennes shows the principles which the Secretary had to adopt in confirming to the inhabitants their old claims: "Where titles have not yet been properly explained, . . . it will be necessary that the persons applying for their patents, give the best possible proof that they are entitled to them. There can be no doubt, but many of the ancient concessions may have been lost, and all record of them destroyed. In such cases it will be proper to produce the testimony of some of the old people, that lands, claimed under such

served as agent for the Ohio Land Company. He was honest and industrious and was able to endure the rigors of frontier life.

¹⁵ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 9-16; Carter (ed), *Territorial Papers*, III, 323-29.

circumstances, have heretofore been occupied, under the authority of the French and British Governments, by the persons from [whom] they pretend to derive their rights or titles. And whenever the original concession is produced, unless by the person to whom it was made, it will be absolutely necessary to show how it was acquired."¹⁶

Relying for the most part on oral testimony regarding the lands which the French had received from the commandants for their personal use, Secretary Sargent confirmed 72 fields or farms to 60 claimants, and 162 town lots to 128 persons. The fields, located for the most part in the three prairies around Vincennes as was noted earlier, were generally two or four arpents wide by forty deep. When these tracts were later surveyed in terms of English acres, they amounted to around 66 acres for the smaller tracts and 136 acres for the four-by-forty arpent farms. A few of the confirmed tracts, however, were larger than 160 French arpents. Some persons claimed and received more than one town lot. For example, Francis Vigo was allowed ten and Peter Cournoyer (Connoyer) six. The fact that only 60 persons had farms in the prairies around Vincennes, but that at least 128 persons had lots in the town, shows that only about half of the French inhabitants of the village had farms which they cultivated. This proves, as has been said, that Vincennes, unlike the English colonies, was not an agricultural community in the early days.

The following are typical examples of the way in which these old possessions are described and located in the Sargent

¹⁶ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 15. St. Clair described the difficulties he encountered in trying to straighten out the claims at Kaskaskia, and undoubtedly the situation at Vincennes was just as bad. Wrote St. Clair: "I have been much engaged, since my being here, in receiving and examining the claims of the inhabitants, which has consumed more time than I had any idea would be necessary; but they are the most ignorant people in the world. There is not a fiftieth man that can either read or write, the consequence of which has been that everything where they were parties has languished extremely. Though they are ignorant, they seem to be the gentlest, well-disposed people that can be imagined, and their manners are better than might have been expected, considering their ignorance. . . ." Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers*, II, 137.

report. No doubt the descriptions are those of the French settlers themselves. They are taken from the Secretary's order of survey to Samuel Baird. The entries given herein are but a few of the 234 farms and town lots that were confirmed by Sargent in 1790.¹⁷

"For Frederick Berger. A lot in Post Vincennes, of twenty-five toises, one side to the church lands, another to Andrez Montplesir, and two others to streets.

"John St. Aubin. A piece of land, two acres in front, and the usual depth, one side to Nicholas Chasseau, and another side to Dayneaux. A lot of one hundred and fifty feet, one side to Levron, and the three others to streets. Another lot, fifty-one feet by thirty; one side to Regis, another to the common, and two sides to streets . . .

"Francis Mallet. A piece of land, two acres in front and usual depth, by the meadow of the Big Marsh. A lot one hundred and fifty by one hundred and twenty feet situated above the fort.

"Antony Caty. A piece of land, two acres front by the usual depth, one side to Louis Edeline and the other to Joseph Leveron, near the Big Marsh.

"Alexis Ouilette. A lot twenty-five toises by twelve and a half, one side to Bolon and another to Derozier.

"Honore Danis. A lot of twenty-five toises, on which is his house. Two acres of land in front by the usual depth, near the little river; one side to St. Aubin, and the other to Bourger.

"Rene Langlois. A lot twenty-five toises; one side to Monplaisir, and two others to Charles Languedoc. Two acres in front by the ordinary depth, at the Cathilinette; one side to Barois, and another to Bordeleau.

"John Dovritt. A lot twenty-five toises by twenty-three, one side to Delorier, and three sides to streets. Also two acres in front by usual depth, in the Nut Prairie, one side to Dennis and another to Connoyer.

"Charles Bergaud. A lot twenty-five toises, one side to Philip Chat, another to vacant ground, and two sides to

¹⁷ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 12-15.

streets. Two acres in front, one side to Vallez and another to Languedoc, near the Big Swamp."

Ordinarily the properties were located and described with reference to the prairies in which they were located and the lands adjoining them. The prairies, though, were variously designated. The largest of the three, the one below the village and along the Wabash, generally was called the Lower Prairie. At times, as may be seen from the examples of grants cited, it was designated as the "Prairie of the Grand Marsh," and "Big Swamp Prairie." In detailing the prairie above Vincennes, more commonly known as the Upper Prairie, fifteen claimants used no less than five different names, "Little River Prairie," "Nut Prairie," "On the Little River," "The Little Prairie," and "At the Nut Point." The Cathlinette Prairie was always mentioned as such.

Besides the variations in the names given to the prairies, another difficulty in locating these grants proved to be the many ways in which the French names were spelled. One person apparently would spell a name one way, another would use a different spelling. For example, in the Upper Prairie Honore Danis is called Daneaux by the neighbor on one side and Dennis by the other. Sometimes a man would be identified by his nickname. Antony Caty in the Lower Prairie is familiarly called Sanschagrin by those on both sides of his tract. Orleans and La Tulippe were nicknames that came to be more commonly used than the surname. These variations, confusing now, must have made the work of the Secretary and later commissioners very difficult. One territorial judge, Henry Van der Burgh, was involved in a court suit over a similar change of name.¹⁸

¹⁸ For documents relating to Van der Burgh's claim see A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 301-3. With only the descriptions given in Sargent's report of July 31, 1790, it is very difficult to locate the possessions confirmed by the Secretary at that time. In 1807, when a regular government survey was made by Robert Buntin, deputy surveyor, every farm or tract of land in each of the prairies was numbered (see *post*, pp. 480-81). The names of the owners corresponding to the number of the tract or survey were recorded and are now found in Knox County Tract Book, volume III, County Auditor's Office. By comparing the descriptions given in Sargent's report of 1790 with Buntin's notes in the Tract Book, it is possible to locate many of the original owners

Study of the first report on donations in the Vincennes district shows that Secretary Sargent's confirmation of land and donations of 400-acre tracts, as given in his report of July 31, 1790, chiefly concerned the old French settlers of the Wabash community. Doubtless they were the ones originally intended by Congress to benefit from the donations. However, even while the Secretary was hearing the claims of the old French inhabitants and before the donation tract could be laid out or government patents issued for the confirmed grants, a new type of claim that was closely bound up with the history of the village since its conquest by Virginia, was brought to Sargent's attention. No government officer could overlook the land claims which were founded on events of the twelve years after 1778. These new claims were the "court grants," mentioned before, generally of 400 acres of land, made as a rule to American settlers coming into the district by the Vincennes Court between 1778 and 1783.

Strictly speaking, under the resolution of August 29, 1788, the court grants made prior to 1783 could have been confirmed because this provided that not only the French but also "the other settlers" at Vincennes should be confirmed in the possessions allotted to them by the governments under which they had settled. Secretary Sargent, however, considered grants of land made by the Vincennes Court as without legal foundation, and, therefore, out of his power to confirm. He did, on the other hand, recommend the case of those claiming court grants to Congress, stating that they were "under considerable cultivation

of these lands. However, the names of those who received donation lands and the tracts that they received can be better understood by comparing Plat Book No. 5 with Record of Field Notes North of the Base Line and North and West of the Second Principal Meridian, II, 32-150, both of which are in the Land Office, State Auditor's Office, Indianapolis. Owners of some of the tracts of land are not known because they did not present their claims, probably either through ignorance or absence, and no grants were confirmed to them.

Records of the private surveys of the confirmed tracts have not been found although search was made in the Indiana State Library, the Land Office in the State Auditor's Office, in the Knox County Courthouse and the Old Cathedral Library in Vincennes, and in the National Archives.

and improvement, . . . and have been possessed . . . at much expense. . . ."¹⁹

There were other questions for which Sargent needed Congressional assistance in order to answer. There was a doubt as to whether heads of families who had lived at Vincennes in 1783, but had left the district "by removing from Vincennes to the Illinois country" were entitled to the donation of 400 acres because of their absence. A number of individuals, too, held lots in a section that had formerly comprised the old Piankashaw village within the town. There was a doubt as to whether these claims could be confirmed because they were on lands that had been directly acquired by individuals from the Indians. Finally, the people of Vincennes were repeating their request for a commons of 5,000 acres of land, and 131 militia-men who were heads of families shortly after 1783 were asking a donation of land from Congress.²⁰

Secretary Sargent, therefore, carried the resolution of August 29, 1788, into effect in all cases to which he thought

¹⁹ In his report to the President on July 31, 1790, Sargent wrote: "I cannot find, from any information I have been able to acquire, that Mr. Todd ever delegated any power of granting land in this country, or, in fact, that he was endowed with it himself. . . . It appears, however, by a proclamation of Mr. Todd's . . . given at Kaskaskias, the 15th day of June, 1779, that a kind of authority was meant to be applied somewhere in the country, to grant lands . . . ; and twenty-six thousand acres had been granted away from that time to 1783, inclusive; and to the year 1787, (when General Harmar checked the abuse) twenty-two thousand more. . . . Notwithstanding that some of the [claims to] four hundred acres and small lots [date from] . . . or before 1783, yet the authority whence they were derived has been such that I could not consider them as 'rightful claims.' They are however, sir, in a few instances, under considerable cultivation and improvement, and some of the plantations and many of the small lots which have been granted by the court since that time, are now cultivated in tillage, and have been possessed by the present claimants, at much expense; but by far the greatest number of them were obtained at the cost of office fees only, and remain to this hour in a state of nature

"Upon the subject of those lands, sir, a petition has been presented to me by . . . eighty Americans, setting forth that they were induced to come into this country by the court of Post Vincennes, with every assurance of their authority to make grants." *A.S.P. Public Lands*, I, 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

it clearly applied. This action was approved by the government and considered final and no approbation other than the Secretary's confirmation of claims was at this time considered necessary. This would seem to be the meaning of the words of the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, in reporting to the President on December 14, 1790: "The Secretary of the Northwestern Government, in the absence of the Governor, has carried this resolution into effect, as to all claims to which he thought it could be clearly applied."²¹ Those doubtful cases, which Sargent felt were not in his power to consider—namely, the dubious claims of heads of families who were absent from Vincennes or had moved from the territory, the case of those who had bought land in the former Piankashaw village, the court grants, the request for a confirmation of the Vincennes Commons, and the request of certain militiamen for a grant—were now laid before Congress for their decision. In his report to the President, Secretary of State Jefferson summarized the secretary's account, and ended his message thus: "The Legislature alone being competent to authorize the grant of lands as yet unprovided for by the laws, the Secretary of State is of opinion that the report of the Secretary of the Northwestern Government . . . should be laid before Congress for their determination."²²

A committee that had been appointed to consider Sargent's report and also reports of Governor St. Clair from the Illinois country in regard to the land situation there, reported favorably on each of the cases submitted in the Secretary's report. His report, therefore, became the basis for the act of March 3, 1791, in so far as it referred to Vincennes. This act was entitled "An Act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country, in the Territory north-west of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possession." Its principal provisions are given here:²³

²¹ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 16. See also Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 315-17.

²² A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 16.

²³ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, I, 221-22; Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 339-42.

"Be it enacted . . . That four hundred acres of land be given to each of those persons, who in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, were heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country . . . and who since that time have removed from one of the said places to the other. . . .

"And be it further enacted and declared, That the heads of families at Vincennes or in the Illinois country in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, who afterwards removed without the limits of the said Territory, are notwithstanding, entitled to the donation of four hundred acres of land. . . .

"And be it further enacted, That one hundred and fifty acres of land, heretofore in possession of the Piankeshaw Indians, and now under actual improvement, and constituting a part of the Village of Vincennes be given to the persons who are severally in possession of the said land.

"And be it further enacted, That where lands have been actually improved and cultivated at Vincennes, or in the Illinois country, under a supposed grant of the same, by any commandant or court claiming authority to make such grant the Governor of the said territory be, and he hereby is empowered to confirm to the persons who made such improvements, their heirs or assigns, the lands supposed to have been granted as aforesaid, or such parts thereof as he, in his discretion, may judge reasonable, not exceeding to any one person, four hundred acres.

"And be it further enacted, That a tract of land, containing about five thousand four hundred acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common . . . are hereby appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes . . . to be used by them as a common, until otherwise disposed of by law.²⁴

"And be it further enacted, That the governor of the said Territory be authorized, to make a grant of land not exceeding one hundred acres, to each person who hath not obtained any donation of land from the United States, and who, on the first day of August one thousand seven hundred and ninety,

²⁴ The land in the Vincennes Commons was offered for sale by the act of April 20, 1818. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, III, 469.

was enrolled in the militia at Vincennes . . . and has done military duty. . . ."

This act covered all the issues raised in Sargent's report, and was regarded as final with respect to any rights on which claims in the Vincennes area could be based.²⁵ However, complete as it was, it did not mean that all the problems of the Vincennes claims were solved. There was delay in hearing and approving claims. Even before Congress passed the 1791 act Sargent was ordered to leave Vincennes and go back to the Ohio country.²⁶ He left in February, 1791, and did not return until 1797. During these years the Vincennes land claims were untouched.

Furthermore, neither the Resolution of August 29, 1788, or this act provided clearly for the issuing of patents after the lands had been confirmed by the government agents, which tended to give all the confirmations made by the Governor and Secretary a tinge of uncertainty and made some further Congressional action necessary. On January 3, 1794, Secretary Sargent wrote to the Secretary of State that "considerable inconveniences accrue to the inhabitants of Vincennes . . . by a delay of the Patents for the Donation lands to the ancient settlers thereof."²⁷ This is the first indication that patents were not being issued, and it is not clear whether they were being held up by the Governor of the Territory or by the Federal government. In an order of survey issued to Samuel Baird, July 13, 1790, at the time of his confirmation of claims at Vincennes, Secretary Sargent spoke as though he or the Governor would issue patents: "Patents will issue as soon as your returns are made into my office."²⁸ And in his proclamation to the people of Vincennes a few days later, July 18, 1790, the Secretary expressed the same opinion in such a way as to make it appear that the granting of land patents would be a simple matter: "patents of confirmation are to be issued, as

²⁵ Secretary of State Madison, in his message to Congress on December 1, 1803, referring to the acts of 1788 and 1791, said: "the latter . . . ought to be considered as closing the claims of the settlers of Vincennes." Quoted in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 91.

²⁶ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 480.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 472.

²⁸ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 11.

soon as he [Samuel Baird, the surveyor] shall have completed the surveys, and returned plats thereof into the office of the Secretary of the Territory."²⁹

But Sargent was overruled by a decision of Attorney General William Bradford to whom the Secretary of State had referred Sargent's letter. The Attorney General said that although it might be inferred from the acts of June 20, 1788, and March 3, 1791, that the territorial governor was the proper officer to issue patents, still the power was not expressed "nor are the words of the act broad enough to implicate any such power." Bradford added that there was nothing in the Constitution giving the President authority to issue patents and that, "if therefore patents are thought necessary to confirm the titles . . . it remains with Congress to direct by whom they shall be issued."³⁰

Thus the Attorney General had made it clear that neither the Governor nor the Secretary of the Territory had the power or authority to grant patents for the lands confirmed and donated by acts of Congress. Lands that were to be sold by the United States were, in accordance with the Ordinance of 1785, to be patented by the commissioners of the loan offices in each state; "the loan officer shall deliver a deed."³¹ St. Clair and Sargent apparently presumed that they had the same authority to issue patents on donation lands as the commissioners had for granting patents on lands sold by the United States, or that, since they were authorized to lay out tracts of land to the persons claiming them, and also donation grants of 400 acres, they also were the proper officers to grant patents for the same.

In the Land Act of May 17, 1796, an "Act providing

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 15.

³⁰ Attorney General Bradford to the Secretary of State, March 25, 1794, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 477. The Attorney General erroneously referred to the resolution of June 20, 1788, and grants on the Mississippi, but when Sargent called his attention to this error, he replied that the people of the Wabash were in the same situation as those on the Mississippi, "there being no authority for granting patents to them, vested, either in the President or in the Governor of the Western Territory." *Ibid.*, II, 478.

³¹ The Ordinance is given in *ibid.*, II, 12-18.

for the Sale of lands of the United States in the territory north-west of the River Ohio, and above the mouth of Kentucky river," Congress took from the hands of the loan officer the power of issuing deeds for land sold by the United States, and authorized the President to grant such deeds. "On payment of the . . . balance . . . [of money owed for land] to the Treasurer . . . and producing to the Secretary of State a receipt for the same, upon the aforesaid certificate, the President of the United States is hereby authorised to grant a patent for the lands to the said purchaser. . . ." ³² It was not, however, until thirteen years after the Attorney General handed down his opinion that no provision had been made for issuing patents on donation lands at Vincennes, that a definite procedure was adopted for this type of land. This was done in the act of March 3, 1807, ³³ which provided means for the issuing of patents on confirmed claims.

During the period between 1791 and 1804 the claims under the act of 1791 were not completely ignored. In 1797, upon Secretary Sargent's return to Vincennes, he appointed a board of commissioners to hear cases on land, to examine evidence, and to report to him. With his accustomed energy he dug into the work and before many months had passed had prepared a long list of claims to be laid before Congress for final confirmation. These claims were given to Robert Buntin, surveyor, in two reports, one dated October 23, 1797, the other, January 8, 1798. These same warrants of survey were sent to Congress on March 18, 1798. ³⁴ The confirmations of 1797 and 1798, represent the last grants made by Sargent in the Vincennes neighborhood. Shortly before the completion of the last report he was elevated to the position of governor of the newly organized Mississippi Territory. Although the hearings on the land claims under the 1791 act were deferred for several years, the majority of them were actually settled by Secretary Sargent.

³² Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 556. See also U. S. *Statutes at Large*, I, 464-69.

³³ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 434.

³⁴ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 84-90.

In these final reports of Sargent the number of town lots confirmed was not great, only 63 being listed at that time. These reports dealt mostly with larger grants outside the town based on old claims and militia service. There were 139 of the larger tracts confirmed, ranging from 40 to 400 arpents. Some were laid out according to the French fashion, in long narrow strips, others were square or very irregular, following some natural boundary, such as a stream, a marsh or pond, a large tree, or a hill. These irregular farms showed that a new type of settler had come into the Vincennes community, the American pioneer farmer. The militia grants were made in the donation tract south of White River or on improvements already made by the militiamen. American names appear frequently in Sargent's last reports. Some of the Americans had belonged to the Vincennes militia in 1790,³⁵ but in most cases their claims were based on court grants, though some had come quite recently and purchased their land claims from the original French claimant. Some of these grants may be cited by way of illustration. It should be noted that the examples given are not taken word by word from the Sargent report, but have been broken down into columns.³⁶

There were still unsolved problems in connection with the land claims. One reason for dissatisfaction could be seen in the last four examples of claims given in the table below. In each of these four cases much less land was granted by the Secretary than was actually claimed. The trouble seemed to lie in the interpretation of the section of the act of 1791 in which the Governor was given power, where lands had been granted by a commandant or court, to confirm to the person claiming such, the lands supposed to have been granted, or what he judged reasonable, in cases where the lands had been "*actually improved and cultivated*."³⁷

Secretary Sargent explained the rule he followed in judging what he considered actual improvement and cultivation in a letter to Samuel Otis, secretary of the U. S. Senate, who had

³⁵ See *ante*, p. 439.

³⁶ See p. 460. The table is based on A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 84-90.

³⁷ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 340. Italics added.

Claimant	Number of arpents or acres claimed and confirmed	Location	By whom granted
Isaac Decker	400	On White River	Court, June 1784
Joseph Decker	4 by 40	North side Wabash	Granted 1780 to Hannah Dalton, and assigned to Decker from Valentine Thomas Dalton and his wife Hannah
Jean Baptiste Villray	4 by 40	On River Embarras	Court, March 14, 1782
Mainard Artur- gus, heirs	400	In forks of River Du Chi	Court, 1785
James Johnson	9 by 40	On fork road	St. Ange over 30 years ago to Denoyon, then to Denoyon's sister, wife of Perodo, Perodo to Johnson
Robert Mays	400 claimed, 100 confirmed	Between Du Chi and White River	Court, 1784
John Small	400 claimed, 50 confirmed	Between Busseron and Marie rivers	Court, 1785
Abraham Decker	400 claimed, 50 confirmed	Between Du Chi and White rivers	Court, 1785, to John Decker, then to Luke Decker, and by him to Abraham Decker
Alexander Vallez	4 by 40 arpents, 25 acres con- firmed because of improvements	On Wabash be- low the Rock	Court, 1785

apparently written for an explanation of his procedure: "The act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1791 . . . I have exercised with such liberality as I was sometimes apprehensive might be construed into prodigality. From this act, and the example of the Governor, I have confirmed every 'concession' of land not exceeding four hundred arpents that had been made on or before 1783, which has been presented unto me, and which was not an arrant forgery." However, the discontent was the result of what Sargent said next: "I have, *in proportion to actual expense made, and improvements*, ordered to be surveyed all subsequent grants under any supposed authority, to the year 1791."³⁸

Even Governor St. Clair did not approve of the procedure of his earnest secretary. He had met a similar situation in the Illinois country during his work there, but had deferred making any final decision until he had consulted the Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, about it. The Governor summed up the situation in a report to Congress January 7, 1799:³⁹

³⁸ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 84. Italics added. The distinction of lands granted before and after 1783 was evidently taken from the act of August 29, 1788, which resolved that measures be taken "for confirming in their possessions and titles the french & Canadian inhabitants and other settlers at post St Vincents who on or before the year 1783 had settled there. . . ." Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, II, 145. *Ante*, p. 445.

In his instructions to Surveyor Buntin of January 8, 1798, Sargent wrote: ". . . upon those [claims] where I have observed silence a total rejection must be understood, and amongst them, for such as were in the donation tract, notwithstanding small improvements which may have been evidenced, it was out of my power to order the smallest compensation. . . ." A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 90.

³⁹ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 91. In later years the land commissioners appointed under the act of March 3, 1804, met the same situation and corroborated this statement of Governor St. Clair in their report of March 25, 1806: "From about the end of the year 1785, until about two years after the Treaty of Greenville, the country about Vincennes, completely surrounded by hostile Indian tribes, and cut off from every means of relief, was placed in a situation highly dangerous; . . . attempts to form settlements and make improvements were, faint, hazardous, and most generally frustrated. . . . The improvements and cultivation made on these few spots where forts or stations had been erected . . . are almost the only ones that can come within the full meaning of the act; thus, besides the advantages the owners of those places obtained in point of security, they derived from the labors of their less fortunate neighbors a better claim to their respective lands." A.S.P. *Public Lands*, VII, 677.

"In many cases there would be very small improvements, while the persons were equally deserving of the bounty of Congress as those who had made much larger, and, indeed, were objects of compassion: for, having been intercepted or driven off by the Indians, they had lost their time, and the benefit that would have accrued to them from their labor . . . ; and many of them, from the dangerous and unsettled state of the country, were reduced to extreme poverty; while others, who had been able to continue their possession, were wealthy and had fine farms. Many lost their lives, and their widows and children have little left except their claim to that land which the loss of the husband or the father prevented the cultivation. . . . it was his [St. Clair's] opinion, it was not so much the nature or quantity of improvement which should be considered as the intention of the party in making it; and . . . whenever it could be made to appear that a person had obtained a grant, and began to improve the land, with the intention bona fide to make a settlement, that the whole quantity should be confirmed to him. The opinion of the Secretary [of State] coincided with that of the Governor, and he recommended it to him to proceed in that manner."

The Secretary, however, had clung to the strict interpretation of the law, whether he realized fully the situation or not, and in so doing had brought out many complaints. Governor St. Clair continued in his report: "In the mean time the Secretary of the territory had returned to that country, and proceeded to allot the lands according to his discretion . . . in some cases four hundred acres are given, in some two hundred, and in some twenty-five acres; and in one, where the improvement was proved to have been worth eight hundred dollars, fifty acres. In the cases where the lands claimed fell within the donation tract, this short note appears: 'In the donation tract, and cannot be confirmed.' The people are extremely dissatisfied."

For ten years the donation claims had dragged on without being finally settled. Secretary Sargent moved to far-away Mississippi Territory and in 1800 Indiana Territory was created with William Henry Harrison as governor. The situation awaited a new act of Congress that would take the land claims

out of the hands of the governors, who were too busy to do full justice to them, and put the responsibility on specially appointed commissioners whose sole official occupation was to see the complicated donation claims through to final settlement. Expansion of the frontier was soon to force Congress to hasten the settlement of donation claims in order that land in the Vincennes district could be put up for sale.

III. THE FINAL SETTLEMENTS

THE land policy of the United States was initiated by the Congressional acts of May 20, 1785, May 18, 1796, and May 10, 1800. Under these laws, before public land could be put up for sale, the Indian title to it had to be extinguished, the land had to be surveyed into Congressional townships six miles square, and land offices opened. This procedure was not entirely new. It had been tested in the New England colonies and was adopted by the national government in preference to the southern custom of unrestricted settlement. The New England system of "township planting," as it was called, limited the settler in his choice of land, but it prevented much subsequent confusion in land titles.

By the act of 1785 surveys were ordered to be made in the seven easternmost ranges in Ohio in preparation for land sales in that region. In 1796 land offices were established in Cincinnati for the sale of lands "below the Great Miami," and at Pittsburgh for the sale of land "between the Scioto and the Ohio Company's purchase." Since no tract smaller than a section (640 acres) could be sold, land speculators rather than individual farmers were favored. The Harrison Land Act of May 10, 1800, reduced the minimum acreage purchasable to 320 acres and established land offices at Chillicothe, Marietta, and Steubenville.

During the fifteen years between 1785 and 1800 and even before 1785, while the frontier was slowly moving through Ohio, some bold spirits, ignoring frontier lives, were settling several hundred miles to the westward in the old French community at Vincennes. When the American immigrants arrived on the Wabash there was no government land for sale, and, as we have seen, many of them received generous grants of land from the Vincennes Court until 1787, when Colonel Harmar arrived to set up a government in the name of the United States. After 1790, by which time the first donation grants had been confirmed, the Americans had bought many of the 400-acre donation tracts and other grants which were for

sale by the donees. In other instances the Americans bought the unconfirmed French claimants' "rights" to donations.

Since no patents or deeds had been issued there was uncertainty about the confirmed claims and donations. Authority of the territorial Governor or Secretary to issue patents had been denied by the Attorney General. Private surveys had been made of all the lands confirmed under the first two Congressional donation acts, but many of the old claims were in a variety of sizes and shapes and their boundaries were not free from litigation.

In 1800 Indiana Territory was organized out of the Northwest Territory and William Henry Harrison appointed governor. The land-hungry Americans were now eager to have the region opened for sale. But before government surveys and public land sales could be made here, it was necessary to clear up the still unsolved land claims.

The first step in clearing these titles was the conclusion of a formal treaty with the Indians by which their titles to the land around Vincennes would be definitely extinguished and clearly defined Indian boundaries be drawn. The next step was the appointment of some sort of board of commissioners to make decisions on all donation claims and adjust their boundaries. Thus when a complete settlement of claims had been reached, the government would know definitely what land had been granted and what could be put up for sale.

In regard to extinguishing the Indian title Harrison held a conference with the various tribes living near Vincennes on September 17, 1802,¹ at which the United States agreed to relinquish all claims to land in the neighborhood of Vincennes except a tract around the town ceded by the Indians in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. This latter treaty did not define the area, stating merely that "the post of St. Vincennes on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished," would be henceforth free of Indian claim.² The basis for this was the old and vague grant by the Indians to the French. Harrison described the tract as extending from Point Coupee on the Wabash, twelve leagues above the mouth of

¹ Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 56-57.

² Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, II, 41.

the White River, to twelve leagues below Vincennes, and running forty leagues east of the Wabash and thirty leagues west.³

After the conference in 1802 Thomas Freeman ran the boundary of this Vincennes Tract and on June 7, 1803, Harrison concluded a formal treaty with the Indians which stated: "Whereas it is declared by the fourth article of the treaty of Greenville, that the United States reserve for their use the post of St. Vincennes and all the lands adjacent to which the Indian titles had been extinguished: *And whereas*, it has been found difficult to determine the precise limits of the said tract as held by the French and British governments: it is hereby agreed, that the boundaries of the said tract shall be as follow: Beginning at Point Coupee on the Wabash, and running thence by a line north seventy-eight degrees, west twelve miles, thence to a line parallel to the general course of the Wabash, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through the mouth of White river, thence by the last mentioned line across the Wabash towards the Ohio, seventy-two miles, thence by a line north twelve degrees west, until it shall be intersected by a line at right angles to the same, passing through Point Coupee, and by the last mentioned line to the place of beginning."⁴

The tract included approximately 1,600,000 acres. The north-south lines proved to be forty miles long and the east-west lines seventy-two. The northeast corner of the district was near present-day Orleans, 57 miles due east of Vincennes. On the southern boundary line of the tract the distance from the mouth of White River to Freeman's southeast corner at a point in Perry County southeast of St. Meinrad is 59 miles. An offset was made in the northern line to include certain settlements that had been made there and also at Princeton on the southern boundary line.⁵

The Vincennes Tract, having been cleared of any Indian claim, was now ready to be surveyed. In 1804 the base line for

³ Harrison to the Secretary of War, February 26, 1802, in Esarey (ed.), *Messages and Letters*, I, 41.

⁴ Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties*, II, 64.

⁵ George R. Wilson, "The First Public Land Surveys in Indiana; Freeman's Lines," in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XII(1916):8.

Indiana was established and the following year the line of the second principal meridian was run.⁶ But before the Congressional townships could be surveyed, the survey lines of the old donation claims had to be definitely determined. Provision for this was made by the passage of the act of March 26, 1804,⁷ which provided (1) for the survey of the land within the Vincennes Tract; (2) for the sale of the public lands therein and the establishment of a land office at Vincennes; and (3) for the eventual solution of donation claims by ordering a resurvey of all donation claims and a recording of them, and appointing a board of commissioners to hear these claims. The section relating to these latter points reads as follows:

“. . . That every person claiming lands within any of the three tracts of land described in the preceding section, by virtue of any legal grant made by the French government, prior to the treaty of Paris, of the tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, . . . the British government, subsequent to the said treaty, and prior to . . . the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, or of any resolution, or act of Congress, subsequent to the said . . . [date], shall, on or before the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and five, deliver to the register of the land office . . . a notice in writing, stating the nature and extent of his claims, together with a plot of the tract or tracts claimed, and may also . . . deliver to the said register, for the purpose of being recorded, every grant, order of survey, deed, conveyance, or other written evidence of his claim; . . . and if such person shall neglect to deliver such notice . . . or to cause to be recorded such written evidence of the same, all his right, so far as the same is derived from any resolution or act of Congress, shall become void, and forever be barred.

“. . . That the register, and receiver of public monies . . . be commissioners for the purpose of examining the claims of persons claiming lands by virtue of the preceding sections. . . . The . . . clerk shall prepare two transcripts of all the decisions made by the said commissioners in favor of the

⁶ Wilson, *Early Indiana Trails and Surveys*, p. 79.

⁷ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 173-84.

claimants to land . . . ; and the lands, the claims to which have been thus affirmed by the commissioners, shall not be otherwise disposed of, until the decision of Congress thereupon shall have been made. . . ."

On September 18, 1804, the Vincennes *Indiana Gazette* announced "the arrival of Mr. Badollet, the register of the land office, in good health." This was John Badollet, native of Switzerland and close friend of Albert Gallatin. The receiver of public monies at the Vincennes Land Office was Nathaniel Ewing. Under the act of 1804 they were to serve as a Board of Commissioners to determine all the remaining unsettled land claims.

The commissioners lost no time in undertaking their task. The same issue of the *Gazette* that reported the arrival of Badollet also carried the following announcement: "The public are hereby informed, that the office for receiving and recording evidence of claims to land within the district of Vincennes . . . will be opened on Thursday, the 20th inst. at the office of the secretary [of the territory]."

In explaining what papers were to be presented to them, the commissioners made it clear that confirmations made by the territorial governors and secretaries were to hold good. "Where the governor has issued patents or confirmed claims," this announcement stated, "it is unnecessary to record any other paper than such patents or evidence of confirmation, and except it is expressly requested by the grantees, no previous or subsequent transfer need to be recorded."⁸ Claims, however, that had not been settled by the governors would be considered with all the pertinent evidence and decided by the commissioners.

Even before the arrival of the commissioners there seems to have been some discussion regarding the validity of the confirmation made by the governors, or at least, of the power of the commissioners to alter these decisions. This perhaps was due to the fact that Section 3 of the 1804 act

⁸ Vincennes *Indiana Gazette*, September 18, 1804. The use of the plural "governors" by the commissioners in their reports and correspondence probably refers to Governor St. Clair and Secretary Sargent who served as acting governor.

concerning the filing of claims did not distinguish between those claims that had been confirmed by the governors and secretaries and those still unsettled.

Nevertheless, any doubts in respect to the validity of the governors' decisions were quickly removed by a lengthy statement from the Secretary of Treasury to Governor Harrison, a summary of which Harrison published in the *Indiana Gazette* on August 21, 1804, before the arrival of the commissioners: "1st. That the land granted by the Governors and which has been laid off under their direction, is not to be resurveyed at the expense of the proprietors. 2nd. That no other title paper is to be recorded when the claim has been confirmed but the patent or other evidence of confirmation.—And 3rd. That all grants made by the Governors, are to be recognized, excepting such only, as may have been 'surreptitiously and fraudulently obtained, through false representations of the party.'" Therefore, when the commissioners arrived at Vincennes, the validity of the majority of the governors' confirmations had been established.

Nine months had been allowed for the examination of claims in the Vincennes area, March 26, 1804, to January 1, 1805. It soon became evident, however, that the period was far too brief to permit a careful scrutiny of the hundreds of cases that were presented. Congress for that reason extended the time for exhibiting claims eight months, until November 1, 1805.⁹

After two years of careful sifting of the evidence, the commissioners were able to send to Congress their report under date of March 25, 1806. The following November a second report was dispatched to Congress. This was a duplicate of the first except that it gave the location or situation of the claims, and made a few additions to the earlier report. The second report is dated November 27, 1806.¹⁰

⁹ Act of March 3, 1805, in Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 263-66. See also U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 343-45.

¹⁰ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 288-303, 558-81. Neither of these reports is given in its entirety in the *American State Papers*, although the two as given taken together make a complete report. In volume VII, 676-727, the two reports are repeated except for Document A of the second report. Volume VII also gives the commissioners' report of May 27, 1812 (pp. 700-8), and a list of "locations" from 1 to 237 made under the several donation acts

For our purpose the two reports may be considered together. The commissioners divided land claims into two principal classes—those confirmed by the governors and those confirmed by themselves. These were likewise subdivided into (1) claims confirmed, based on British and French grants and court grants; (2) 400-acre donations confirmed to those who were heads of families before 1783; and (3) claims confirmed based on militia service.

Approximately 363 claims based on British and French grants and court grants were confirmed by the governors, and 52 by the commissioners. The tables show that by far the majority of the original claimants were French. By 1806, when the commissioners made their report, of the 363 claims to tracts of land confirmed by the governors, only 76 remained in the hands of the original claimants or their heirs; and of the 52 confirmed by the commissioners, only 26 were still in the hands of the original claimants or their heirs. Out of a total of 415 tracts, 313 had already been sold.

A glance at the names of the original claimants and those who held the claims in 1806 shows to what extent Americans had bought up the French claims. About 155 tracts of land originally granted to some French inhabitants were, at the time of the commissioners' report, in American hands. This does not mean, however, that there were 150 different American pioneers who were holding those lands. A considerable number of the Americans had obtained several of them, notably Governor Harrison, Henry Van der Burgh, and William McIntosh. Not to be overlooked, of course, was the veteran speculator, Francis Vigo.

This circumstance is even more noticeable in the 400-acre donation tracts. The governors confirmed the claims of 246 original donees. Only seven of these tracts were still in the (pp. 709-27). Complete summaries of all the commissioners' reports, and also pertinent letters exchanged by the commissioners and various Federal officials comprise two U. S. House Reports: *Indiana—Land Claims—Vincennes District* in *House Executive Documents*, 23 Congress, 2 session, No. 198; and *Land Claims—Vincennes District* in *House Executive Documents*, 25 Congress, 2 session, No. 455. There are minor variations between these two reports; the latter is used for reference in this study.

possession of the original donees or their heirs in 1806. The names of these may be of interest: heirs of Jean Baptiste Bosseron; Antoine Drouet, dit Richardville; the heirs of Antoine Lunsford; Frederick Mehl; heirs of Nicholas Perrot; Pierre Racine St. Marie; and Francis Valiquette. All the other French donees had sold their claims to Americans or to a few Frenchmen who held considerable land. The commissioners confirmed 18 claims to these 400-acre donations. Fifteen of these still remained in the hands of the original donees.

As to the militia grants of 100 acres, 221 grants were made by the governors to militiamen enrolled in the Vincennes militia in 1790. Only 24 of these grantees still possessed these tracts in 1806. The commissioners acknowledged 14 additional grants; 10 of these were confirmed to the original grantees. That most of the militia claims had been confirmed to Frenchmen is very evident from the list of claimants. It is also evident that they gave up their land to Americans. Most of the Americans receiving grants were still in possession of them when the commissioners made their reports.

The commissioners' reports tell a story of lost opportunity for the French at Vincennes, who valued too little the lands given them and refused to fit themselves into the American agricultural plan. No doubt some of them were anxious to sell their land because of their extreme poverty and need of the moment. Others probably valued the donations lightly because of a lack of confidence in the ability of the United States to survive. This attitude, derived from the poor administration extended to settlement in the early years of the new Republic and the hardships that the inhabitants suffered, is understandable. They had little faith in the future development of the Old Northwest under the United States. Another class of Frenchmen may have sold their 400-acre donations because they did not wish to change to a completely agricultural mode of life and have to clear the heavy forests that covered the donation tract.

Thus, although the main reason of Congress in passing the donation acts was to aid the French inhabitants of the village who had suffered through the conquest period, the majority of

the Frenchmen never possessed the land granted or derived the anticipated benefit from it.

The tendency of the French to dispose of their donation land manifested itself from the very time that donations began to be talked of. As early as August 7, 1787, Francis Brouillet and his wife Josette Boneau sold to Francis Vigo the 400 acres they hoped to receive from Congress for about fifty dollars.¹¹ During October, 1787, Vigo bought at least sixteen of these deeds to "hoped for" grants. The following is an example of these deeds, made out on November 29, 1787, by Joseph La Fleur to Francis Vigo:

"I the undersigned, Joseph La Fleur, Junior, . . . confess to have sold and transferred to M. Vigo . . . all my rights and pretensions to the territory that Congress will accord to the inhabitants of the post . . . understanding to have received this day the entire payment of the said land of which I find myself satisfied and if the Congress does not accord the territory in the quantity that one hopes for the said M. Vigo shall have nothing to hold against me of the payment that he has made me this day—I having sold him my hopes. . . . Joseph La Fleur."

There is no record of what Vigo paid for his hoped-for piece of land, but two hundred francs or about fifty dollars seems to have been the usual price, and this does not seem to have been altered even after the donation acts passed Congress. Thus Vital Boucher, who had drawn lot number 132 in the donation tract, sold his right to the land to Vigo on December 20, 1791: "Be it hereby known that we Vital Boucher, . . . acknowledge to have sold and ceded on our own accord, to Sir Francis Vigo . . . the four hundred acres or arpents of land that shall devolve to me, according to an act of the Honorable Congress, that all the fathers of a family living at Post Vincennes before and in the year 1783 shall receive. . . . This present cession

¹¹ Notes and documents relating to Vigo's land transactions are among his papers in the Harrison House, Vincennes. The deeds and conveyances were made on small slips of paper, signed, and witnessed.

and conveyance was made by virtue and by means of the sum of two hundred francs. . . ."

A similar conveyance received in the Recorder's Office and dated 1791 gives the price as \$50.00: "Received in my office in Vincennes, Knox County, Indiana Territory, a deed bearing seal the 25th day of April 1791, wherein, Jean Charpentier convey unto Francis Vigo and his heirs 400 acres or arpents of land which was granted to him as head of a family at St. Vincennes on or before 1783 for and in consideration of 200 livres or fifty dollars."¹²

In fact, by about 1792 Francis Vigo had bought for \$50.00 or less many of the 400-acre donation tracts. A total of 101 of the 158 heads of families who received grants of 400 acres under the 1788 act sold their land to Vigo. This is evident from an undated document in the Vigo Papers which contains a list of the donation rights that were assigned to Vigo, together with the assignors' names, the dates when given, and the quantity of land involved.¹³ Almost immediately Vigo began selling his holdings at profit. When the commissioners settled the donation claims in their reports of March 25 and November 27, 1806, Vigo retained only 57 of the 400-acre tracts that he had at one time held.¹⁴ For example, on March 12, 1796, Abraham Brinker, of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, bought from Vigo a tract for \$330, paying down \$266.15 and agreeing to settle the rest before May 1, 1797.¹⁵

¹² The original deed for the Charpentier donation, now in the Vigo Papers, bears the following endorsement: "Recorded in my Office in Vincennes Knox County the 5th day of August 1801 in Book B page 501. John Gibson Junr recorder."

¹³ This list is given *post*, pp. 485-89. It may be compared with the list of 400-acre donations given in A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 11-12.

¹⁴ These may be easily seen in the tables in *Land Claims—Vincennes District*, in *House Executive Documents*, 25 Congress, 2 session, No. 455, pp. 30-41.

¹⁵ The document covering this transaction reads as follows: "Memorandum of an agreement made & concluded on between Francois Vigo of Knox County Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio Esquire of the one part; and Abraham Brinker of Westmoreland County in the State of Pennsylvania yeoman of the other part. Witnesseth that the said Francois Vigo for and in consideration of the Sum of Three Hundred and

On June 20, 1796, Vigo sold eleven 400-acre tracts to John Purcell of Hampshire County, Virginia. The price paid was a dollar an acre. In 1801 the price was still the same, for on February 1 of that year Jeremiah Claypool bought tract number 38, originally granted to Amable Tardoise, from Vigo for \$400.

The donation tracts, intended primarily for the French, became either directly or through speculation a source of land for American settlers before the sale of government land began. As has been said only seven of the 246 grants to heads of families remained in the hands of Frenchmen in 1806. Only the prairies near the town remained French. Here were the small farms the French had claimed on basis of occupation and improvement. Indeed, until recently, the Cathlinette Prairie south of the town was almost exclusively French. Now these farms are owned by persons of non-French descent.

The land commissioners closed their reports in 1806 with several special cases, the most important of which was the claim of a number of persons to land north of the old Piankashaw village between the Upper Prairie and the Wabash, known as the "Continuation." Since the original titles had been derived from Indian purchases, the governors had not confirmed them and the commissioners hesitated to grant them for the same reason. Also rejected were the various claims to sections of an alleged grant to Francis Bosseron and Ambrose Dagenet by

thirty Dollars a part to be now paid and the remaining part paid on the first of May one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven, or on the sealing and delivery of a deed for the land hereinafter mentioned Hath granted bargained and sold unto the said Abraham Brinker his choice of one of four Lots or tracts of Land each containing four hundred acres and lying within the Donations granted by a resolution of Congress of the third of March one thousand seven hundred and ninety one to the Heads of Families living at Vincennes . . . and the said Brinker is to make his choice of one of the numbers following viz number forty nine, fifty, Seventy one, and Seventy two. In witness whereof the parties hath hereunto interchangeably set their hands and Seals, the twelfth day of March one thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Six—

"ABRAHAM BRINKER
"F VIGO"

"Witnesses
"R BUNTIN
"JNO. N. SEELY

the Vincennes Court on November 20, 1783, and to other large court grants. In explaining these rejections the commissioners wrote: "Without dwelling on the extraordinary circumstances of the above recited supposed grants, wherein the members of a court of justice have made to each other such unusual donations, and appropriated to themselves such a large and valuable part of the country, the commissioners will observe that the State of Virginia never authorized the courts to grant lands. That after the cession, Congress, taking into consideration the hard case of a number of inhabitants, who, under the impressions that the grants were good, had moved to Vincennes and the Illinois country, benevolently stepped in, by the act of 1791, and directed the Governors of the territory to confirm claims of that description, provided the land claimed had been actually improved and cultivated, not exceeding four hundred acres to any one person. Considering therefore, the present claims as grounded upon a transaction fraudulent *ab initio*, entirely unusual, (the same court never having before granted more than four hundred arpents or three hundred and forty acres, with a claim of actual settlement thereto annexed) and not contemplated by the act of 1791, reject, *in toto*, all the foregoing claims."¹⁶

The decisions of Commissioners Badollet and Ewing in favor of claimants to land were of no force of themselves. Only Congressional legislation could give them final confirmation, and this was done in the act passed March 3, 1807, "An Act confirming claims to land in the district of Vincennes; and for other purposes,"¹⁷ which also confirmed part of the lands in the "Upper Prairie," site of the old Piankashaw village known as the "Continuation," containing 244 acres, to persons claiming parts thereof. It also provided specifically: "That all decisions made by the commissioners appointed for the purpose of examining the claims of person claiming lands in the district of Vincennes, in favor of such claimants, as entered in the transcripts of decisions which have been transmitted by the

¹⁶ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 301.

¹⁷ Carter (ed.), *Territorial Papers*, VII, 433-35; see also U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 446-48.

said commissioners, to the secretary of the treasury, according to law, be, and the same are hereby confirmed.

“ . . . the confirmations . . . made . . . by the governors of the North West and Indiana territories . . . and in conformity with the act [of March 3, 1791] . . . are hereby confirmed; . . . *Provided however*, that no other claims shall be confirmed, by virtue of this section, than such as . . . have, by the commissioners aforesaid, been inserted in their reports, transmitted as aforesaid.

“ . . . the several persons . . . to whom or to whose assigns the several tracts of land . . . have been heretofore confirmed, be and they are hereby respectively confirmed in their claims to the respective tracts . . . lying in that tract of land containing two hundred and forty-four acres, which is known by the name of ‘Continuation’¹⁸

“ . . . the several persons whose claims are confirmed by the act, and had not been actually located prior to the establishment of the board of commissioners . . . are hereby authorised to enter their locations with the register of the land office of Vincennes, on any part of the tracts set aside for the purpose, by virtue of the act . . . [of April 21, 1806].¹⁹

“ . . . every person . . . whose claim to a tract of land is confirmed by this act, and who had not previously obtained a patent for the same . . . shall whenever his claim shall have been located and surveyed, be entitled to receive from the register of the land office at Vincennes, a certificate stating, that this claimant is entitled to receive patent for such tract of land by virtue of this act; . . . which certificate shall entitle the party to a patent for the said tract, which shall issue in like manner as is provided by law for the other lands of the United States.”

This act gave final confirmation to the majority of claims and donation grants. Claims settled thereafter were comparatively few in number. It is upon this act and those of August 29, 1788, and March 3, 1791, that title for much of the land in the vicinity of Vincennes still rests. Some persons neglected to

¹⁸ For a map of this area see A.S.P. *Public Lands*, II, 395.

¹⁹ See U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 395-96.

have their grants patented in the regular way provided by the 1807 act and some lands are still without a formal legal patent. When these lands are patented today, it is usually because the owner wishes to have absolute title in view of some mineral wealth on his holdings.²⁰

The donation tracts having been confirmed, the next step was to survey them, or rather resurvey them. This work of resurveying the old odd-shaped private claims and of fitting them into regular Congressional surveys fell to deputy surveyors Robert Buntin and Daniel Sullivan. Their surveys were made principally between 1807 and 1810, most of them in 1807, especially the tracts nearer the village. A few were done by Daniel Sullivan alone in 1811.²¹ The resurveyed claims were numbered from 1 on, consecutively in each township. These lands were no longer described as being situated adjoining some neighbor or on some stream, but were accurately surveyed according to township, range, and section. For example: "Re-

²⁰ The following patent to an old donation grant was issued by President Woodrow Wilson, February 10, 1921. It is taken from a copy in the records of the General Land Office, 0 267: "Whereas, There has been deposited in the general Land Office of the United States a certificate of the commissioner Ex-officio Register of the Land Off at Wa. D. C., whereby it appears that the Donation claims of Abraham Kuykendall, in right of Joseph Du Bois, which appears in abstract C, a list of donations made by the Governors of the Territory in Virtue of militia rights, as provided by the Act of March 3, 1791 (1 *Stat.*, 221), entered in the report of the commissioners at Vincennes, November 27, 1806, (Am.S.P., Duff Green Edition, Vol. I, P. 519), was confirmed by the second section of the Act of Congress of March 3, 1807 (2 *Stat.*, 446) and that the said claim had been surveyed and designated as Survey No. 7 in T 1 n of R 11 w of the 2nd Principal Meridian Indiana containing 100 A.

"Now know Ye, That the United States of America in consideration of the premises, Has Given and Granted, and by these presents Does Give and Grant unto the said Abraham Kuykendall or his legal representatives, the land above described; To Have and To Hold the Same, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and appurtenances of whatsoever nature thereunto belonging, unto the said Abraham Kuykendall or his legal representatives, and to his and their heirs and assigns forever. . . .

"Feb. 10, 1921 . . ."

²¹ See Plat Book V, Land Office, pp. 155-70, Indiana State Auditor's Office.

surveyed for the heirs of Peter Barkman 340 Acres 28 perches of land situated in T 2 N, R 9 and 10 W Section 1 and 6.”²²

Some years later, when the donation claims had been closed, a map was drawn showing all the grants that had been made. On it the old surveys made by Samuel Baird and resurveyed by government surveyors are called “surveys” and are indicated as “No. 1-,” “No. 2-,” etc., starting in each township. The tracts marked “L No. -” on the map and numbered from 1 to 305 consecutively throughout the whole tract are “locations,” a term which will be explained shortly.

Although the commissioners’ reports in 1806 and the confirmatory act of 1807 initiated all the steps required to provide complete and adequate title to the great majority of donation claims, they did not close Congressional legislation on the matter. An act of April 30, 1810, gave “persons . . . who were minors, or did not reside within the Indiana Territory during the time allowed by law for registering claims . . . until the first day of November next, [to] give notice, in writing, to the register of the land-office . . . of their claims.”²³

The commissioners’ report on these claims was ready by May 27, 1812. Only twenty-eight claims were approved by the commissioners under the act of April 30, 1810,²⁴ and these were confirmed by Congress on February 13, 1813.²⁵ This act brought an end to the confirmations by Congress. Altogether 940 claims had been confirmed under various heads and approximately 180,000 acres of land granted. However, not all the claimants were in possession of their designated tracts of land. There were people who were entitled to land and had it confirmed to them without it having been surveyed, or they had not signified their intention to locate on a definite spot and had not entered their location in the records of the land office.

²² From Record of Field Notes North of the Base Line and West of the Second Principal Meridian, Land Office, Indiana State Auditor’s Office, II, 32.

²³ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 590-91.

²⁴ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, II, 455-63.

²⁵ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 800-1.

Or, too, they may have been squeezed out of their lands by some prior location when the government surveys were made. Because of the irregularity of some of the old surveys and locations, many claims were found to overlap when the resurveys were made, and some persons had to locate elsewhere.

In order that land in the large Vincennes Tract could be offered for sale and at the same time not infringe on the rights of such persons to land in the vicinity of the town, it had become necessary to reserve a portion for these donation claimants until a final settlement could be made. This was done by the act of April 21, 1806, in which the land commissioners at Vincennes and Kaskaskia were empowered "to lay out one or more tracts of land, in their respective districts, for the purpose of locating therein, tracts of land granted by virtue of any legal French or British grants, or of any resolution or act of Congress: *Provided*, that the tracts thus laid out shall be, whenever practicable, adjoining the tracts, which . . . had been laid out for similar purposes by the governors of the Northwest and Indiana territories; and the tracts thus laid out shall not be otherwise disposed of, unless by order of Congress."²⁶

The tract thus set aside became known as the "Vincennes Donation Tract in the States of Indiana and Illinois." Reference to the tract in Indiana as the Vincennes Donation Tract distinguishes it from the large Vincennes Tract in which it was situated. Seventy-six Congressional townships were reserved for persons who still had to locate their donation grants. A check of land sales in Indiana shows that in all the townships from 1 to 5 north in ranges 8, 9, and 10 west, no sale of land was recorded until 1821. By that year the reservation from sale had been removed by law.²⁷ These townships are in the heart of the Vincennes Donation Tract and the majority of

²⁶ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 395.

²⁷ *Post*, p. 482. See Tract Book, Vincennes District, Land Office, Indiana State Auditor's Office, XVII, 46-57, and XIX, 311-25, 361-69. In T 1 N, R 8 W, land was sold prior to 1821, but only part of this township was in the reserve tract. The reservation was removed by the act of March 18, 1818. U. S. *Statutes at Large*, III, 409-10.

donation claims were located in them. Outside the Donation Tract, however, land was sold as early as 1807.²⁸

Also, by the 1806 act "persons entitled to grants by virtue of any former resolution or act of Congress, which . . . [was] not specifically designated in the patents issued by the governors . . . or which . . . [had] not yet been located, . . . [had] a right to locate the same in the tract or tracts . . . to be laid out. . . ."²⁹

The act of March 3, 1807, which confirmed the decisions of the commissioners, allowed persons whose claims were confirmed by the act but had not been located prior to the establishment of the board of commissioners, until July 1, 1808, to make their locations in the reserved tract. The confirmatory act of February 13, 1813, gave persons whose claims were confirmed by that act until October 1, 1813, to locate, and the time was later extended by an act of December 26, 1814, to July 1, 1815. Locations from 1 to 150 were made under the act of March 3, 1807. Eighty-seven more, numbers 151 to 237, were made from July to September, 1813, under the act of February 13, 1813.³⁰

²⁸ See Tract Book, Vincennes District, XIX, 202-18, 257, 263, 311, 369. Compare township 3 north, range 7 west, which was in the Tract, with township 2 north, 7 west, which was not. In the latter township land was being sold between 1807 and 1821, but in the former, none was sold during those years.

²⁹ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 395.

³⁰ A.S.P. *Public Lands*, VII, 709-20, 720-27; U. S. *Statutes at Large*, II, 800, III, 163; *House Executive Documents*, 25 Congress, 2 session, No. 455, pp. 71-106. That these locations were grants or claims to land confirmed by the commissioners in the reports of 1806 which had not been actually surveyed by that time or staked out or located, is evident from comparison of the commissioners' reports with the list of locations as later laid out. For example, in the report of November 27, 1806, the claim of Charles Bonneau, Sr., to 50 acres is confirmed to Henry Pea as present claimant and the land was marked "not surveyed." A.S.P. *Public Lands*, I, 560. Correspondingly, location No. 25 was of 50 acres granted to Henry Pea in the right of Charles Bonneau, Sr. *Ibid.*, VII, 710. The following explanation of locations to be made appear in the introduction to the report of November 27, 1806: "As to the claims designated . . . as unsurveyed, some are specific, and a description of the spot granted is annexed to each of them; the others which are without a specification of place, remain yet to be located, and have obtained here the denomination of floating-rights." *Ibid.*, I, 558. In the commissioners' list of lands confirmed by the governors in virtue of French, British, or court grants as given in their reports of 1806, there were a number

As mentioned above there were some persons who had located their claims but were forced to move when a prior claim was found to rest on that particular piece of land or were squeezed out when the government surveys were made to correct the old private surveys. An act of April 16, 1816, "for the relief of certain claimants to land in the district of Vincennes," was apparently intended to benefit this class of people.³¹ It stated that persons whose claims were confirmed by the confirmatory acts of March 3, 1807, and February 13, 1813, "which having been located cannot be surveyed agreeably to law, or which having been located have, in the opinion of the register of the land office . . . been removed by the surveys of prior locations, from the spot intended to be occupied, are hereby authorized to enter their locations with the register of the land office at Vincennes, on any part of the tract set aside for that purpose. . . ." Since the records in the American State Papers give only 237 locations under the two acts mentioned, it may be assumed that the remainder of the locations from 237 to 305 were made under the act of April 16, 1816. These 305 "locations" were numbered consecutively from 1 to 305 on the "Map of Vincennes Donation Tract in the States of Indiana and Illinois" and were indicated by "L No.—" followed by the proper number.

By 1818 thirty years had elapsed since the matter of the Vincennes land claims were taken up for consideration. During that time approximately 180,000 acres of land had been given away by the United States. This total includes 116,000 acres of land granted to 290 heads of families whose claims to 400 acres of land had been approved by the governors and commissioners, as well as almost 60,000 acres that had been

of claims not surveyed and without their location given. *Ibid.*, I, 559-67.

For example, the following notation is attached to Location No. 97, which was near the Upper Prairie, by surveyor Robert Buntin. "Began to resurvey 136.10 acres of land in the right of Francois Racine. . . . There was not quantity to satisfy the whole as it will appear there is only 101.10 acres in this resurvey." The remainder apparently had to be taken elsewhere. Record of Field Notes North of the Base Line and West of the Second Principal Meridian, II, 122.

³¹ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, III, 285.

granted by some commandant, by the court, or by some act of Congress, approved by the governors or commissioners, and confirmed by Congress.³²

By 1818 it was clear which lands in the "Vincennes Donation Tract" reserved in 1806 were occupied by donation claimants and which were free of title and could be sold. An act of March, 1818, gave one last chance to locate donation claims, then ordered the remainder of the tract to be surveyed and sold. It read in part as follows: "That every person, or their legal representatives, whose claims were confirmed by any of the several acts for confirming claims to land in the district of Vincennes and which claims have not been located, shall be authorized to enter their locations with the register of the land office at Vincennes, on any part of the tract set aside for that purpose . . . and shall be entitled to receive certificates and patents in the same manner as provided by former laws respecting locations in the same tract: *Provided*, That the locations . . . shall be made before the first day of September next; and after the said locations shall have been made and the surveys thereon completed, the surveyor general shall cause the residue of the said tract to be surveyed, conforming as far as practicable, to the plan for surveying the other public lands. . . .

" . . . *And be it further enacted*, That such part of the tract . . . as shall not have been located under confirmed claims, shall be offered for sale at Vincennes."³³

By 1821, almost a century after the French had established their post at Vincennes, locations of all the Vincennes donation claims had been made. In the first place as early as 1807, when Congressional confirmation was given to the reports of the land commissioners, it was evident that the French inhabitants for whom the donations were originally intended and to whom they were first confirmed, no longer owned the 400-acre donation

³² In the report of November 27, 1806, grants totaling 49,524.93 acres had been approved by the governors, and 7,963 by the commissioners, exclusive of 400-acre donation tracts. These were confirmed by Congress by act of March 3, 1807. In 1813 Congress confirmed additional grants containing 1,300 acres reported by the commissioners plus twenty-five 400-acre donations for heads of families.

³³ U. S. *Statutes at Large*, III, 409.

tracts granted to them. Those tracts, or the promise of them, had been sold by the French claimant to Americans at very small figures. The French settlers, suffering from the American conquest, though they derived some immediate advantage from the sale of their donation tracts, did not realize the benefit anticipated for them from the Congressional action. The French did not adapt to agricultural economy and were passed by. Control of the town and the general neighborhood, economically, politically, and socially, passed from their hands into the control of the rapidly increasing American population.

A study of the donation lands also brings out the fact that many Americans had arrived at Vincennes before the natural expansion of the frontier had reached the Wabash River. Following Clark's victory Americans began to settle at Vincennes. Generous land grants by the Vincennes Court doubtless stimulated the movement of settlers to the community. The reports of Territorial Secretary Sargent show that many American pioneers had received court grants and made attempts to cultivate them. The willingness of the French to sell the lands finally confirmed to them by Congress prompted further immigration to the district.

Probably the most indelible mark the donation land left upon Vincennes and Knox County is to be found in the surveys of Knox and adjoining counties and in its legal and local terminology. Gone is the Upper Prairie, now a part of the town of Vincennes, gone also the Lower Prairie and Vincennes Commons where once cattle grazed and where now are situated the homes of American citizens of Vincennes. Remnants, however, of these old French landmarks may still be seen by looking at even the latest county maps or by reading the legal descriptions of land in county books. For example, land in what was formerly the tract for donations to heads of families, is not designated on the records as being in one of the sections of a certain township, as the other lands of the county or state are defined. The description of lands in the old donation tract runs in terms of a certain section of one of the 246 400-acre donations. Similarly the Commons has been divided and sold. No trace of it is left except on maps. The lots in that

part of the town where the Commons once was, are designated as "Commons Lot, No. —." Lots in the old French section of town are described likewise and numbered as "Old Town Lot No. 1" etc., all testimonials of the transitory period during which the old French post became an American town.

APPENDIX

Abstract of Donation Rights in Francis Vigo Including the Numbers, Original Assignors' Names, Quantities, Dates, Before Whom and When Acknowledged¹

No.	Assignors' Names	Quantity	Date	Before Whom Acknowledged	Date of Acknowledgment
149	Veuve (widow) Louis Denoyon	400	Aug. 16, 1790	Ant. Gamelin	Aug. 6, 1790
8	Veuve Amable Pierre Dumais	400	July 2, 1792	Pierre Gamelin	July 2, 1792
56	Louis Roufiance dit La Violette	400	May 5, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	May 5, 1791
146	Veuve F. Bazinet	400	April 15, 1792	"	April 15, 1792
145	Veuve F. Peltier	400	May 9, 1792	"	May 9, 1792
142	Charles Delisle	400	May 5, 1792	"	May 5, 1792
137	J. Bte. Harpin	400	April 18, 1791	"	April 18, 1791
136	Alexandre Valle	400	Aug. 15, 1791	"	Aug. 15, 1791
133	Jacque Denis	400	May 10, 1792	"	May 10, 1792
132	Vital Boucher	400	Dec. 20, 1791	"	Dec. 20, 1791
128	Charles Guille	400	May 5, 1792	"	May 5, 1792
126	Antn. Danis	400	April 22, 1791	"	April 22, 1791
123	Pierre Gilbert	400	Aug. 24, 1791	"	Aug. 24, 1791
140	Veuve Guillaume Dapron	400	May 7, 1792	"	May 7, 1792
24	J. Bte. Lagarde	400	July 17, 1788	"	May 5, 1792
11	J. Bte. DuChaine	400	April 15, 1791	"	April 15, 1791
19	J. Bte. Deloriez	400	April 26, 1791	"	April 26, 1791
18	Jos. Mallet	400	May 5, 1792	"	May 5, 1792
21	Louis Coder	400	April 19, 1791	"	April 19, 1791
13	Etienne Jacque	400	April 15, 1791	"	April 15, 1791

¹ From original document in the Vigo Papers, Harrison House, Vincennes.

APPENDIX—(Continued)

No.	Assignors' Names	Quantity	Date	Before Whom Acknowledged	Date of Acknowledgment
26	Francois St. Marie	400	July 2, 1792	"	July 2, 1792
25	Louis Revalet	400	May 7, 1792	"	May 7, 1792
30	Charles Lacost dit Languedoc	400	April 22, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	April 22, 1791
49	Jean Charpentier	400	April 25, 1791	"	April 25, 1791
131	Amable Garguipie	400	May 10, 1792	"	May 10, 1792
94	Veuve Philippe Legras	400	May 4, 1792	"	May 4, 1792
154	Jos. Chartier	400	May 9, 1792	"	May 9, 1792
158	Jos. Levron dit Metaye	400	May 7, 1792	"	May 8, 1792
122	Francois Trudelle	400	May 8, 1792	"	May 8, 1792
134	Louis Metaye	400	May 2, 1791	"	May 2, 1791
121	Michel Joseph	400	Aug. 7, 1790	Antn. Gamelin	Aug. 7, 1790
152	Charles Bergand	400	Feb. 16, 1788	"	July 24, 1788
96	Jos. Chabotte	400	May 7, 1792	Pierre Gamelin	May 7, 1792
113	Jos. Lognon	400	May 9, 1792	"	May 9, 1792
111	Pierre Perette	400	April 19, 1791	"	April 19, 1791
110	Veuve Pre. Gremard	400	April 25, 1791	"	April 25, 1791
109	J. Bte. Dubois	400	July 29, 1791	"	July 29, 1791
107	Pre. Degneaux	400	April 15, 1791	"	April 15, 1791
108	Veuve L. Boye	400	April 21, 1791	"	April 21, 1791
103	Antn. Catis	400	April 15, 1791	"	April 15, 1791
102	Antn. Bordeleaux	400	April 22, 1791	"	April 22, 1791
106	Nicoles Chapare	400	Aug. 7, 1790	Antn.	Aug. 7, 1790
6	Francois Loignon	400	May 5, 1792	Pierre	May 5, 1792
160	Veuve Moses Henry	400	Nov. 2, 1791	James Johnston	Nov. 2, 1791

APPENDIX—(Continued)

No.	Assignors' Names	Quantity	Date	Before Whom Acknowledged	Date of Acknowledgment
139	J. Bte. Vaudry, Pere.	400	Dec. 2, 1790	"	Dec. 2, 1790
46	J. Bte. Vaudry, fils	400	Dec. 2, 1790	"	Dec. 2, 1790
15	Louis Edeline	400	Aug. 22, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	Aug. 22, 1791
77	Amable Perron	400	July 2, 1792	"	July 2, 1792
143	Veuve Philibert dit Orlean	400	Aug. 7, 1790	Antn. Gamelin	Aug. 7, 1790
54	Jos. Dube	400	Oct. 13, 1788	Witnessed but not acknowledged:	
2	Louis Lamare	400	March 10, 1788	J. Bte. Bino, Biequet	
23	J. Bte. Miette (Mallet?)	400	Aug. 6, 1788	Hugh Howard,	
92	Pierre Ranger	400	Feb. 16, 1788	J. Bte. Laffont	Beiquet
101	Veuve N. Cardinal	400	Aug. 4, 1791	Antn. Gamelin	July 24, 1788
99	Jacque LaTrinouille	400	April 15, 1791	Louis Edeline	Aug. 4, 1791
100	Jos. Ducharme	400	Aug. 20, 1790	Pierre Gamelin	April 15, 1791
98	Antn. Gamelin	400	Aug. 7, 1790	Antn. Gamelin	Aug. 20, 1790
93	Pierre LeFairres	400	April 23, 1791	Paul Gamelin	Aug. 7, 1790
88	Jos. Hamelin	400	April 22, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	April 23, 1791
90	Francois Turpin	400	May 5, 1792	"	April 22, 1791
81	Antn. Marie	400	April 20, 1791	"	May 5, 1792
73	Louis Boye Fils.	400	May 7, 1792	"	April 20, 1791
71	Jos. Reau.	400	April 29, 1791	"	May 7, 1792
68	Veuve Antn. LeFevre	400	Dec. 1, 1790	Antn.	April 29, 1791
67	Pre. Cartier	400	Jan. 12, 1792	"	Dec. 1, 1790
64	Amable Delisle	400	April 21, 1791	"	Jan. 12, 1792
59	Francois Compagnot	400	Aug. 7, 1790	Antn.	April 21, 1791
					Aug. 7, 1790

APPENDIX—(Continued)

No.	Assignors' Names	Quantity	Date	Before Whom Acknowledged	Date of Acknowledgment
58	Jacque Chalbauniaux	400	April 23, 1791	Pierre	April 23, 1791
55	Nicolas Bayarjon	400	April 19, 1791	Pierre	April 19, 1791
53	Francois Mallet	400	April 22, 1791	"	April 22, 1791
50	Francois Minis	400	April 17, 1791	"	April 17, 1791
45	Antn. Vaudry	400	April 18, 1791	"	April 18, 1791
43	J. Bte. Moyx	400	May 5, 1792	"	May 5, 1792
42	Veuve Pre. Coder	400	April 21, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	April 21, 1791
39	J. Bte. Toutgas	400	May 22, 1792	"	May 22, 1792
33	J. Bte. Joyalle dit Lafrenier	400	April 19, 1791	"	April 19, 1791
28	Jos. Andre	400	April 22, 1791	"	April 22, 1791
31	Louis Deloriez	400	May 8, 1792	Pierre Gamelin	May 8, 1792
119	Ambroise Dumais	400	May 15, 1791	"	July 2, 1792
74	Pierre Querez	400	Aug. 15, 1790	Antn.	Aug. 15, 1790
83	Francois Brouillet	400	Aug. 7, 1790	"	Aug. 7, 1790
76	Rene Langlois	400	Aug. 5, 1790	Pierre	Aug. 5, 1790
80	Francois Lacoste dit Langudoc	400	Aug. 5, 1790	Antn.	Aug. 5, 1790
89	Charles Beauneaux	400	Aug. 7, 1790	"	Aug. 7, 1790
70	Veuve J. Bte. Etienne LaFonaine	400	Aug. 16, 1790	"	Aug. 16, 1790
78	Rene [Francois?] Coder	400	May 26, 1791	"	Feb. 1, 1793
129	Jos. St. Marie	400	May 26, 1791	"	Feb. 1, 1793
72	Etienne St. Marie	400	May 26, 1791	"	Feb. 1, 1793

APPENDIX—(Continued)

No.	Assignors' Names	Quantity	Date	Before Whom Acknowledged	Date of Ac- knowledgegment
104	Louis Leme	400	Oct. 17, 1788	Witnessed but not acknowledged:	
95	Francois Roufiange	400	Oct. 17, 1788	J. Darguilleur, Beiquet	
12	J. Bte. Maryin dit Lionois	400	Oct. 13, 1788	Beiquet, Pierre Dumais	
34	Louis Bargerion	400	Oct. 11, 1788	Beiquet, Pierre Menard,	
63	Jos. Perrodot	400	Feb. 28, 1791	J. Bte. Bino	
85	F. Derousse	400	March 26, 1788	Hugh Howard, Beiquet	
127	J. Bte. Chartier	400	March 1, 1788	Beiquet, Hugh Howard	
159	Jos. Sabolle	400	Nov. 8, 1788		
147	Antn. Mallet	400	Oct. 17, 1788	Beiquet, J. B. Bino	
36	Francois VaChette dit St. Antonie	400	Aug. 10, 1789	P. Hubert	
97	Chas. Guilbeaux	400	March 17, 1788	Beiquet, J. Bte. Bino	
112	Frances Vigo				
44	Veuve Pier Perron	400	July 2, 1791	Pierre Gamelin	July 2, 1792

INDEX

INDEX

- Abbott, Edward, 435.
 Agriculture, 430-31, 432, 440, 459.
 Americans at Vincennes, influx of, 438-39; receive land grants from Court of Vincennes, 440; types of farms, 440; introduce new economy into Vincennes, 441; petition for land grant, 444; confirmation of militia grants and court grants to, 452-53, 455-56, 459, 470; buy up French land claims, 459, 464-65, 470-74, 482-83.
 Arturgus, Mainard, 460.
 Badollet, John, register of Vincennes Land office, 468. *See also* Land commissioners.
 Baird, Samuel, surveyor, 448, 450, 457.
 Baldwin, Abraham, of Georgia, 445.
 Barkman (Barrachman), Abraham, 439.
 Barkman (Barrachman), Christian, 439.
 Base Line, 466.
 Bergaud, Charles, 450.
 Berger, Frederick, 450.
 Bonneau, Charles, 480n.
 Bonneau (Boneau), Josette, 472.
 Bosseron, Francis, 474.
 Bosseron, Jean Baptiste, 471.
 Bradford, William, attorney general, 457.
 Brinker, Abraham, 473-74n.
 Brouillet (or Brouillette), Francis, 472.
 Buffalo Trace, 427.
 Buntin, Robert, surveyor, 451, 458, 461n, 477, 481n.
 Carroll, Bishop John, 433.
 Cathlinette Prairie, 432, 474.
 Catt (Chat), Philip, 439, 450.
 Caty, Antony, 450, 451.
 Charpentier, Jean, 473.
 Chartier, John Baptiste, 444n.
 Chasseau, Nicholas, 450.
 Chat, Philip, *see* Philip Catt.
 Chillicothe Land Office, 464.
 Cincinnati Land Office, 464.
 Clark, Abraham, of New Jersey, 445.
 Clark, George Rogers, 436-37, 438, 439, 443, 483.
 Claypool, Jeremiah, 474.
 Codere, Pierre, receives land grant, 434-35.
 Connoyer (Cournoyer), Peter, 449.
 Continental Congress, receives petition for donation lands, 427, 441-42, 443, 444-45; committee on donations, 445; grants donation lands, 444-45; slowness in extending government to northwestern territory, 437. *See also* Land ordinances, U. S. Congress.
 Court grants, *see* Vincennes Court.
 Croghan, George, 433, 435.
 Dagenet, Ambrose, 474.
 Dalton, Thomas, 444n.
 Dane, Nathan, of Massachusetts, 445.
 Danis (Dayneaux), Honore, 450, 451.
 Day, Robert, 439.
 Decker, Abraham, 439, 460.
 Decker, Isaac, 439, 460.
 Decker, John, 439.
 Decker, Joseph, 439, 460.
 Decker, Luke, 439.
 Decker, Moses, 439.
 Decker, Tobias, 439.
 Detroit, 428.
 Donation lands, requests for, 427, 432-33, 441-42, 443, 444; resolution

- and acts allowing, 445-46, 454-56, 467, 478, 482; Sargent ordered to settle claims for, at Vincennes, 447; confirmed by Sargent, 448, 452; patents for, 456-58, 465, 476-77; commissioners' reports on, 469-71, 474-75, 478, 480; claims to, sold by French to speculators, 459, 464-65, 470-74, 482-83; amount sold for, 472-73; acts confirming, 475-76, 478, 480, 481, 482; creation of Vincennes Donation Tract, 479-80; final location of, 479-80; acreage of, 481-82; hasten American immigration to Vincennes neighborhood, 483; effect on government surveys, 483-84; bought by Vigo, list of, 485-89.
- Dovrith, John, 450.
- Drouet, Antoine (Richardville), 471.
- Dubé, Joseph, 444.
- Dubois, Joseph, 477n.
- Edeline, Louis, 450.
- Ewing, Nathaniel, receiver of, Vincennes Land Office, 468. *See also* Land commissioners.
- Farms, French and American methods of laying out, 430-31, 432, 440, 459.
- Fort Miami, 427.
- Fort Ouiatenon, 427.
- Fort Pitt, 428.
- Fort Wayne, 427.
- France, founds fur-trading posts in Indiana, 427.
- Frederick, Bastion, 439.
- Frederick, Lewis, 439.
- Freeman, Thomas, 466.
- French at Vincennes, economy of, 428, 430-31, 432-33; Piankashaw grant to, 428-30, 441, 446, 465; receive land grants from commandants, 430, 434-35; method of laying out farms, 430-32, 440, 459; address to General Gage, 428; under British regime, 435-36; effect of Clark's conquest on, 436-39, 441-42; take oath to Commonwealth of Virginia, 439; aid to Clark and loyalty of, 443; migrate to Spanish territory, 443-44; request for donation of land, 427, 432-33, 440-41, 443, 444; request granted, 445-46, 454-55; claims confirmed, 445, 448-51, 458, 459, 469-70, 475-76, 480; difficulties encountered in settling land claims, 448-49, 451, 458-62; sell claims to Americans, 459, 464-65, 470-74, 482-83; reasons for disposing of land to speculators, 471.
- French on the Mississippi, request donation of land, 444.
- Fur trade, 426, 427, 432; estimate value at Vincennes, 433; decline of, 442.
- Gage, Gen. Thomas, 428, 435, 436.
- Gallatin, Albert, 468.
- Gamelin, Pierre, petition to President, 429.
- Great Britain, regime at Vincennes, 427, 428, 435-36.
- Greenville, Treaty of, 430, 446-47, 465, 466.
- Guilbaut, Charles, 444n.
- Hamilton, Henry, 435.
- Hamtramck, Col. John Francis, 441, 448.
- Harbin, John, 439.
- Harmar, Gen. Josiah, 438, 440, 441, 442, 464.
- Harrison, William Henry, governor of Indiana Territory, 429n, 462, 465, 469; clears title to Vincennes Tract, 465-66; buys French land claims, 470.
- Harrison Land Act, 464.
- Holliday, Hezekiah, 439.
- Hutchins, Thomas, 433, 435.
- Illinois, County of, 439.

- Illinois country, settlement of land claims, 447, 449n, 454.
- Illinois Land Company, 429n.
- Improved lands, confirmed to claimants, 455, 459-62.
- Indiana Territory, created, 462, 465.
- Indians, council with, 465, 466; title to land extinguished before survey and public sale made, 446, 464, 465. *See also* Piankashaw.
- Irvine, William, of Pennsylvania, 445.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 454.
- Johnson, James (1), 439, 460.
- Johnson, James (2), 439.
- Jones, John Rice, 439.
- Jordan, Thomas, 439.
- Kaskaskia, 437n, 447, 453.
- Kuykendall, Abraham, 477n.
- Lafayette, 427.
- La Fleur, Joseph, 472.
- Land claims, settlement and confirmation of, 444-45, 448-51, 452-53, 454-55, 458, 459, 467, 468-69, 469-70, 475-76, 480; surveys of, 449-52n, 461, 477-78; sold by French to speculators, 459, 464-65, 470-74, 482-83; final locations made, 481; acreage of confirmed claims, 481-82.
- Land commissioners, establishment of board of, to hear land claims, 468-69; on confirming improved land, 461; outline principles for settling claims, 468, 469; send report on claims to Congress, 469-71, 478, 480; confirmation of decisions, 475-76, 478, 480, 481, 482.
- Land grants, made by French commandants, 430, 434-35; made by Vincennes Court, 440, 464, 483; made by Indians to French at Vincennes, 428-30, 441, 446, 465. *See also* Donation lands, Land claims.
- Land offices, 464. *See also* Vincennes Land Office.
- Land ordinances, 446n, 457-58, 464.
- Land surveys, *see* Surveys.
- Langlois, Rene, 450.
- Languedoc, Charles, 450.
- Le Gras, Col. J. M. P., 439, 440.
- Leveron, Joseph, 450.
- Linden, Frederick, 439.
- Lowe, John, 439.
- Lower Prairie, 432.
- Lunsford, Antoine, 471.
- McIntosh, William, 470.
- Mallet, Francis, 450.
- Marietta, 464.
- Martin, John, 439.
- Mathler, Frederick, 439.
- Matson, Ralph, 439.
- Mayes, Jeremiah, 439.
- Mayes (Mays), Robert, 460.
- Mayes, William, 439.
- Mehl, Frederick, 471.
- Meredeth, Daniel, 439.
- Militia, Vincennes, American members of (1790), 438-39; land grants for, 453, 454, 455-56, 459; commissioners' report on, 470; French sell to speculators, 471.
- Miro, Estevan, 443.
- Montplesir, Andrez, 450.
- Murphy, John, 439.
- Ordinance of 1787, pp. 427, 441-42.
- Orleans, 466.
- Otis, Samuel, 459.
- Ouilette, Alexis, 450.
- Patents, for donation lands, 456-58, 465, 476-77; on land sold by Federal government, how issued, 457-58; one issued by President Wilson, cited, 477n.
- Pea, Daniel, 439.
- Pea, Henry, 439, 480n.
- Pea, Jacob, 439.
- Pea, John, 439.

- Peron, Pier, 444n.
 Perrot, Nicholas, 471.
 Petters, Godfrey, 439.
 Piankashaw, land grant to French, 428-30, 465; surrendered to United States, 441, 446.
 Piankashaw Village, site of, at Vincennes, 427; land claims in, 453, 454, 455, 475, 476.
 Pickering, Timothy, 443.
 Pittsburgh, land office at, 464.
 Prairies around Vincennes, 431-32, 451.
 Public lands, *see* Land ordinances, Surveys.
 Purcell, John, 474.
 Quebec Act, 436.
 Racine, Francois, 481n.
 Racine, Jean Baptiste (Ste Marie), commandant at Vincennes, 436.
 Racine, Pierre (St. Marie), 471.
 Ramsey, Allen, 439.
 Resolution of 1783, pp. 445-46.
 Richardville, 471.
 Rivet, Father Jean Francois, on Piankashaw land grant, 429-30; describes Vincennes, 433, 437.
 Robins, John, 439.
 St. Ange de Bellerive, Louis, commandant at Vincennes, 430, 434-35.
 St. Aubin, John, 450.
 St. Clair, Arthur, governor of Northwest Territory, 468n; on distress of inhabitants at Vincennes, 438n; ordered to settle land claims, 447; describes difficulties encountered, 449n; settles Illinois claims, 454; on confirming improved lands, 461-62.
 St. Meinrad, 466.
 Ste. Marie (St. Marie), *see* Racine.
 Sanschagrin, *see* Caty, Antony.
 Sargent, Winthrop, secretary of Northwest Territory, 440, 443, 468n; sketch of, 447n-48n; on sufferings of French at Vincennes following Clark's conquest, 437-38; ordered to settle land claims at Vincennes, 447; confirms donation lands to heads of families, 448; confirms old French land claims, 448-51; defines principles used in confirming land claims, 448-49; hesitates to confirm "court grants," 452-53, 454; ordered to leave Vincennes, 456; resumes settlement of Vincennes land claims, 458-62; outlines principles on confirming improved lands, 460-61; strictness criticized, 461-62; becomes governor of Mississippi Territory, 458, 462.
 Shoebrook, Edw. 439.
 Simpson, Patrick, 439.
 Small, John, 460.
 Smith, Daniel, 439.
 Smith, William, 439.
 Snapp, Abraham, 439.
 Spain, encourages immigration into Louisiana and West Florida, 443-44.
 Steubenville, 464.
 Sullivan, Daniel, surveyor, 477.
 Surveys, of donation tracts ordered, 448; of old French land claims ordered, 449-52n, 461; of donation land, payment for, 444, 446; congressional, ordered in Ohio country, 464; of Vincennes Tract, 466-67; resurveys of old French claims, 477-78; of final land claims, 481; effect of donation lands and land claims on, 483-84.
 Tardoise, Amable, 474.
 Taxation, petition that French grants be exempt from, 445.
 Thorn, Charles, 439.
 Thorn, Daniel, 439.
 Thorn, Jacob, 439.
 Thorn, Michael, 439.
 Thorn, Peter, 439.

- Thorn, Solomon, 439.
- Todd, John, lieutenant of County of Illinois, 440, 453n.
- Tucker, Thomas T., of South Carolina, 445.
- United States Congress, donation acts, 454-56, 467, 478, 482; acts for confirmation of land grants, 475-76, 478, 480, 481-82. *See also* Continental Congress.
- United States land policy, *see* Land ordinances.
- Upper Prairie, 431-32.
- Valiquette, Francis, 471.
- Vallez, Alexander, 460.
- Van der Burgh, Henry, 439, 451, 470.
- Vigo, Francis, 448; land claims confirmed, 449; buys up French land claims, 470, 472-74; prices paid and received for land, 472-73; list of donation lands bought by, 485-89.
- Villray, Jean Baptiste, 460.
- Vincennes, Sieur de, 429n, 430, 434, 440.
- Vincennes, location and founding, 427-28; flourishes during French period, 433; value of fur trade, 433; population, 435, 438; decline of during British regime, 435-36; effect of Clark's conquest and arrival of American settlers on, 436-39, 441; Indian councils at, 465, 466. *See also* French at Vincennes, Donation lands, Land claims, Militia.
- Vincennes Common, 432, 441, 446, 453, 454, 455.
- Vincennes Court, established, 439; makes land grants, 440-41, 464, 483; justifies procedure, 440-41; abolished, 441; confirmation of grants sought, 445, 452-53; confirmations made, 455, 459, 470; certain grants by, denied, 474-75.
- Vincennes Donation Tract, 479-80, 482.
- Vincennes *Indiana Gazette*, 468.
- Vincennes Land Office, established, 467, 468. *See also* Land commissioners.
- Vincennes Tract, boundaries defined, 465-66; survey of, 466-67; sale of unclaimed lands, 479-80. *See also* Piankashaw, land grant.
- Virginia, cedes claims to Northwest to General Government, 437; administration of Illinois country, 439-40, 442.
- Viviat, Louis, 429.
- Volney, Constantin F., on Vincennes during French period, 433.
- Wabash Land Company, 429.
- Wadsworth, James, of Connecticut, 445.
- Washington, George, 429, 437.
- Westfall, Abraham, 439.
- White, James, of North Carolina, 445.
- Williamson, Hugh, of North Carolina, 445.
- Wilson, Woodrow, 477n.
- Wyant, Christopher, 439.



Ic
977.2
In5
v.15
no.1-4
669277

PUBLI
FORT WAYN

INDIANA

IX

X

VIII

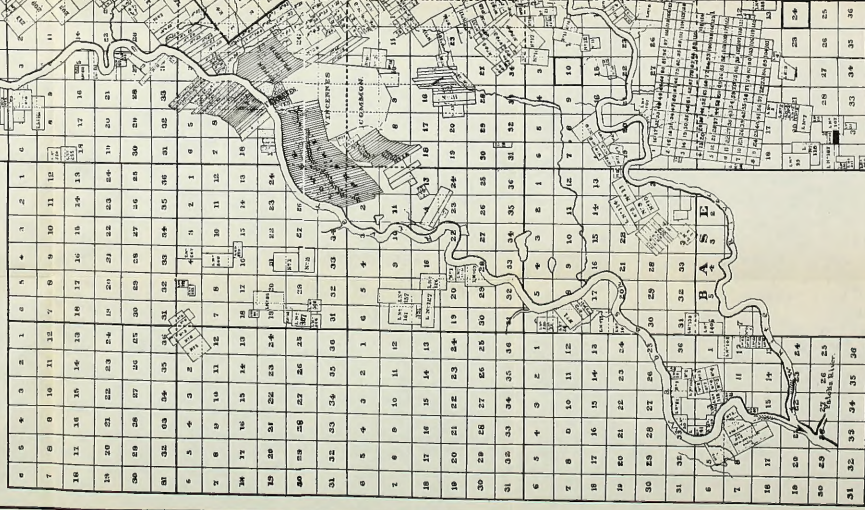
VII

XI

XII

Map of the city of Vincennes, Indiana, showing the layout of the city and the location of the Vincennes National Cemetery. The map is divided into sections, each labeled with a number. The sections are numbered 1 through 36, with some sections further divided into smaller areas. The map also shows the location of the Vincennes National Cemetery, which is situated on the east side of the city. The map is a detailed representation of the city's layout, including streets, buildings, and the cemetery.

The Vincennes National Cemetery is located on the east side of the city. The map shows the location of the cemetery and the surrounding area. The map is a detailed representation of the city's layout, including streets, buildings, and the cemetery.



VINCENNES DONATION TRACT,

in the States of
INDIANA and ILLINOIS.

